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THE INNER CORE--NORTH, A STUDY OF MILWAUKEE'S NEGRO COMMUNITY.

BY- O'REILLY, CHARLES T.

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A STUDY OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY OF MILWAUKEE PRESENTS DATA ON RESIDENCE, EDUCATION, HOUSING, OCCUPATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT, THE EMERGING MIDDLE CLASS, AND PROGNOSTICATIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE GROWTH OF NEGRO POPULATION. MOST OF THE AVAILABLE INFORMATION WAS DERIVED FROM THE 1960 CENSUS, WITH COMPARISONS CONTINUALLY MADE TO THE 1950 CENSUS FIGURES. AN OVERVIEW OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY POINTS TO THE RAPID POPULATION GROWTH SINCE 1950, TO THE INCREASED BIRTHRATE, AND TO THE YOUNGER CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION. THERE HAVE BEEN MANY RECENT ARRIVALS, MOST OF WHOM LIVE IN PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO AREAS. WOMEN OUTNUMBER MEN, AND THE FREQUENCY OF BROKEN MARRIAGES AND ONE-PARENT FAMILIES IS GREATER AMONG NEGROES THAN AMONG WHITES. EXTENSIVE WELFARE SERVICES ARE REQUIRED FOR SUBSTANTIAL SOCIAL PROBLEMS. MORE NEGROES THAN WHITES ARE FUNCTIONAL ILLITERATES, WHO DO NOT COMPLETE HIGH SCHOOL OR COLLEGE AND WHO LAG BEHIND AGE PEERS IN SCHOOL. HOUSING RANGES FROM POOR TO GOOD, AND RENTALS ARE COMPARABLE TO CITYWIDE COSTS. IN EMPLOYMENT, NEGROES ARE UNDERREPRESENTED IN SKILLED AND SEMISKILLED OCCUPATIONS. ON THE BASIS OF INCOME AND EDUCATION AS SOCIAL CLASS INDICATORS, FROM 20 TO 25 PERCENT OF THE CITY'S NEGROES ARE MIDDLE CLASS. THIS MIDDLE CLASS "CAN SERVE AS A MODEL" FOR DEPRIVED NEGROES BY INDICATING GOALS AND DIRECTIONS TOWARD FULL INTEGRATION. MAPS, TABLES, AND CHARTS ARE INCLUDED IN THE REPORT. (NH)

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UD 05150

THE INNER CORE NORTH

A Study of Milwaukee's Negro Community

by Charles T. O'Reilly

The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee

05150

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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THE INNER CORE—NORTH

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Charles T. O'Reilly

UD 005 150

A Project of the School of Social Work
The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee
for the Ford Urban Program
The University of Wisconsin Extension Division

1963

CONTENTS

Preface i

1. The Inner Core—North 1

2. Education 33

3. Housing. 43

4. Occupations and Employment 65

5. An Emerging Middle Class 81

6. The Future Growth of the Negro Population of Milwaukee 89

MAPS

1. Milwaukee County Census Tracts, April 1960 3

2. Growth of Negro Population in Selected Census Tracts, Milwaukee, 1950-1960 4

3. Percentages of Negroes in Census Tracts in the Inner Core—North, 1940 7

4. Percentages of Negroes in Census Tracts in the Inner Core—North, 1950 8

5. Percentages of Negroes in Census Tracts in the Inner Core—North, 1960 9

6. Ward and Inner Core Boundaries 28

7. Median Education, Nonwhite Adults, 1960 34

8. Expressways Through Inner Core 44

9. Percentage of Substandard Housing Units in all Housing Units Occupied by Nonwhites in the Tracts in the Inner Core—North, 1960 50

10. Age of Housing 58

11. Percentage of Unemployed Nonwhite Men in Tracts in the Inner Core—North, 1960 70

CHARTS

1. Population of Milwaukee, 1960 14

2. Changes in Age Distributions, White Population, Milwaukee 15

3. Changes in Age Distribution, Negro Population, Milwaukee 16

4. Residential Mobility, 1955 to 1960 60

PREFACE

In 1950, 77 percent of Wisconsin's 28,405 Negroes lived in Milwaukee, the state's largest city. By 1960, the number of Negroes in the state increased to 74,511 and 83.4 percent of them were residents of Milwaukee. Ranking 11th in population among the cities of the nation in 1960, with 8.4 percent of its population Negro, Milwaukee was 19th among the 25 largest cities in its percentage of Negroes. The tripling of its Negro population in the 1950's confronted Milwaukee with major challenges in the areas of housing, education, and employment.

Constructive action to meet these challenges requires knowledge and understanding of the problems confronting the people most affected by minority status. Some of the knowledge that can be a prelude to better understanding is obtainable from census data and other statistics gathered by national and local governmental offices. These statistics happen to be widely dispersed and often are not organized for easy use. Many of them are brought together in this study of the Negro community. They probably will be most useful if used in conjunction with the "Final Report" of the Mayor's Study Committee on Social Problems in the Inner Core of the City.[1] That remains a basic document for understanding the city's "inner core," the major area of Negro residence.

This study examines some of the basic facts about the characteristics of the city's Negro population: its age, housing, education, and employment; and presents estimates of the future growth of the Negro community. Major reliance is placed upon data from the 1960 census, although there is good reason to believe that the Negro population has increased about 18 percent since 1960 and that now there are about 74,000 Negroes in the city.

Most of Milwaukee's Negroes live in what is called the "inner core." The "inner core" does not include all of what the urban sociologist would describe as the inner core of the city. Actually the term refers to part of the inner city, part of which is blighted, a "grey" or "depressed" area. The core, however, includes both slums and good residential areas. Whites and Negroes live in the core, although most people think of the area as wholly Negro. The term inner core is used in this study because it is widely used in the community. To avoid its connotation of blight, the expanded area of Negro residence is referred to as the "Negro community." It should be mentioned that if a city's inner core is older, deteriorating and less desirable, characterized by high unemployment, lower incomes and other social problems, then Milwaukee has at least two such areas: one on the south side, in addition to parts of the north side area generally referred to as the inner core.

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[1] FINAL REPORT, Mayor's Study Committee on Social Problems in the Inner Core Area of the City, Milwaukee, Wis., 1960.

References will be made to data about Negroes and "nonwhites." These terms are not equivalent because "nonwhites" include persons other than Negro. Discussion must shift between them, however, because some census data is tabulated for Negroes and some for nonwhites. Although the two terms are different they frequently are used interchangeably because 96.1 percent of the nonwhites in the city in 1960 were Negroes, as were 95.7 percent of the nonwhites in 1950. For all practical purposes data about nonwhites can be used to describe the Negro population of the city. This practice lacks precision but does not materially affect the results of most analyses. Although there could be problems if census tracts had a substantial number of non-Negro nonwhites, ordinarily this is not the case in Milwaukee. In the tracts in the Negro community most of the nonwhites are Negroes.

A related problem is encountered because income and other data is sometimes reported for the city and at other times for the county or for the standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA). To reduce confusion, reference in tables is made to MILWAUKEE, meaning the city, or to the county, or SMSA. In the text reference is made to the city, county or the "area," meaning the metropolitan area.

At several places in the report comparisons are made between the situation confronting the Negro in Milwaukee and in Chicago. Because Chicago is the nearest city with a large Negro population, the comparisons were made to provide some perspective for the analysis of data about Milwaukee.

This study was prepared as background for a 1963 interview study with residents of the Negro community.[2] Having served that purpose it is being made available for those interested in interracial relations in the hope that its facts may promote better understanding and sound planning to meet the needs of the Negro community. The fact that it was not intended as a comprehensive study of the Negro community explains the limited scope of much of the material in the report.

The cooperation of many people made the study possible. Special thanks are due to Mr. George Dundon of the Milwaukee Health Department and to Professors Steven Pflanczer and Robert Holzhauer of the School of Social Work,

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[2] PEOPLE OF THE INNER CORE—NORTH by Charles O'Reilly, Willard Downing and Steven Pflanczer, will be published in the spring, 1964. This and another publication, TRACT FACTS ABOUT THE INNER CORE—NORTH to be released in late spring, 1964, are part of a continuing documentation of areas of concern in the Milwaukee community.

for many helpful suggestions. Ralph Trumble, research assistant, supervised much of the statistical work and contributed to the report in many ways. So did Frank Samuels and Barbara Balkansky who did many of the statistical computations.

The study was supported in part by the Ford Urban Program of The University of Wisconsin Extension Division, and by a research grant from the Research Committee of The University of Wisconsin Graduate School.

Charles T. O'Reilly
Associate Professor

The School of Social Work
The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee

December 1963

THE INNER CORE—NORTH

Every city has older, deteriorating and less desirable sections that are often associated with high unemployment and public assistance rates and the minority status of their residents. In Milwaukee this is the so-called "inner core," an area of twenty-six census tracts on the near northwest side of the city which held 12.5 percent of the city's 1960 population. For all practical purposes this is Milwaukee's Negro ghetto. It was defined by the "Mayor's Study Committee on...the Inner Core" as bounded by Juneau Avenue on the south, 20th Street on the west, Holton Street on the east, and Keefe Avenue on the north (2).

When the inner core—north was defined, most of the available information about the Negro community was derived from the 1950 census. The 1960 census revealed that the Negro population had tripled since 1950 and that an increasing number of Negroes were moving into previously white residential areas. Because the area of Negro residence expanded, the area defined as the inner core by the Mayor's Committee can be called the "inner core," while the area beyond the core, which either contained Negroes in 1960, or into which they moved by 1963, can be referred to as the "Negro community." This community includes the original core area and extends north to beyond Capitol Drive and west to 27th Street and includes all or part of fourteen additional census tracts.

Three more tracts also can be considered part of the Negro community. Although tracts 19, 23, and 25 to the south of the inner core were excluded from the core area as defined in 1959, they actually are part of the Negro community. Tracts 23 and 25 had only a token number of Negroes in 1950 but 6 percent of the population of each was Negro in 1960. In tract 19, 16.4 percent of the residents were Negroes in 1950. This dropped to 12.2 percent in 1960. Perhaps because the direction of Negro population movement has been northward in Milwaukee, because the three tracts have an institutional and commercial character, and also because as older areas they ultimately may be redeveloped, they tend to be overlooked as parts of the inner core.

Although it is often assumed that the inner core is completely Negro, it should be noted that many whites live in the area. In 1960, the percentage of Negroes in tracts in the core ranged from 94 percent to less than one percent, and as high as 21 percent in tracts in the newer areas of Negro residence.

It also should be remembered that Negroes are increasingly found outside of the Negro community, especially north of Capitol Drive, west of 20th Street, and east of Holton Street. The major thrust of Negro residential movement seems to be directed toward the north and west, however, and this may result in greater Negro dispersion among the white population in the years ahead.

THE GROWTH OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY

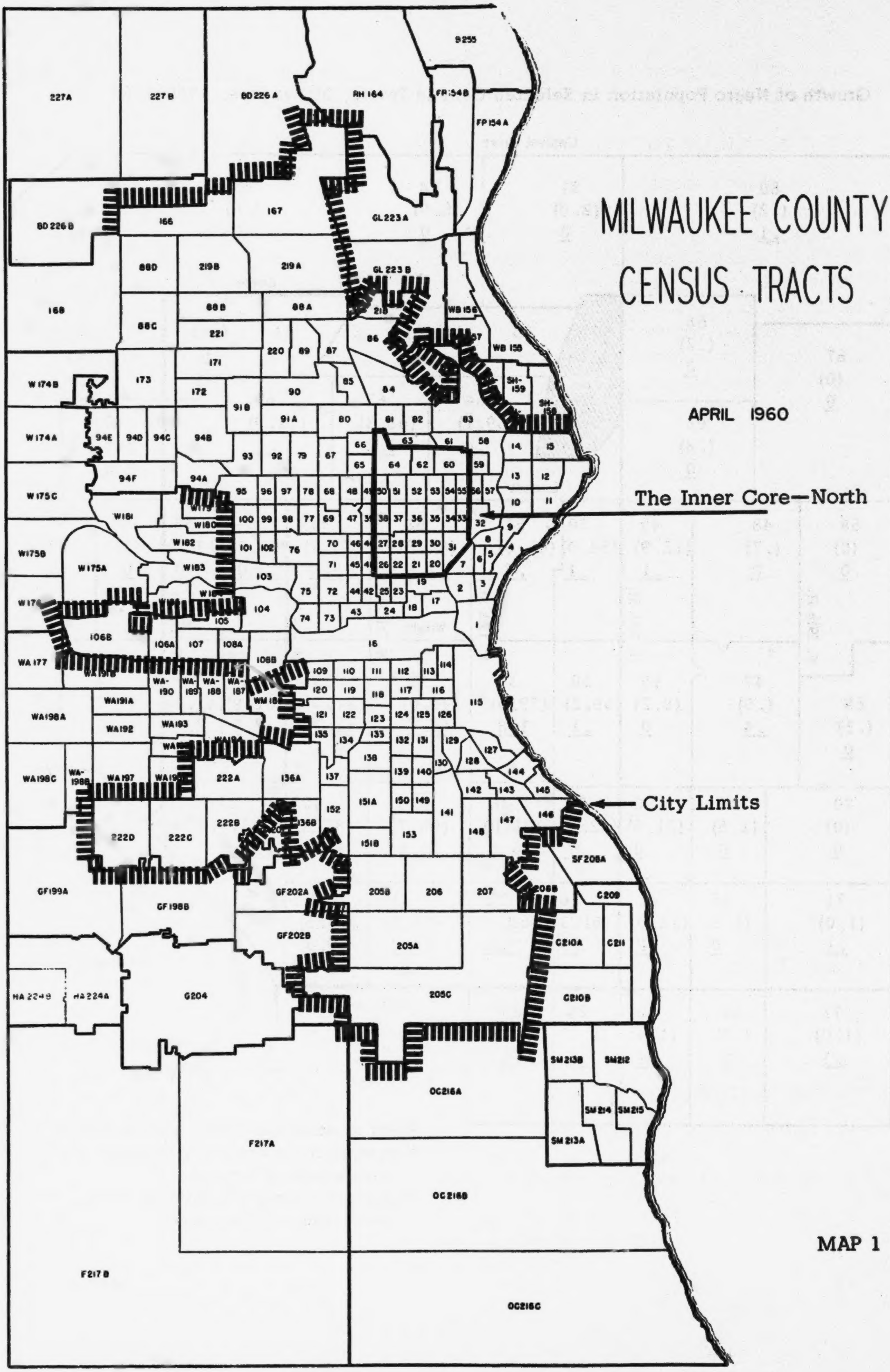
Negroes formed a very small part of Milwaukee's population until the 1920's. The need for labor during World War I, which brought large numbers of Negroes to Chicago and Detroit, also helped to bring Negroes to Milwaukee. In 1910, Milwaukee's 980 Negroes lived in the vicinity of West Walnut and West State streets and made up one-fourth of one percent of the city's population (6, p. 454). By 1920 the Negro population had more than doubled, and then it tripled between 1920 and 1930. In the depression decade, 1930-1940, the number of Negroes increased only 17.6 percent. By 1940, Negroes were one and one-half percent of the city's population, and in the four tracts in which they were concentrated they made up half of the population.

Table 1-1: Negro Population Increase—City of Milwaukee (1850-1960)

	Total City Population		Negro Population		
Year	Total	% Increase	Total	% Increase	% Negro
1850	19,963		98		.49
1860	45,140	126.12	106	8.16	.23
1870	71,440	58.26	176	66.04	.25
1880	115,587	61.80	304	72.73	.26
1890	204,468	76.90	449	47.70	.22
1900	285,315	39.54	862	83.96	.30
1910	373,857	31.03	980	13.69	.26
1920	457,147	22.28	2,229	125.45	.49
1930	578,249	26.49	7,501	236.52	1.30
1940	587,472	1.59	8,821	17.60	1.50
1950	637,392	8.50	21,772	146.82	3.42
1960	741,324	16.29	62,458	186.87	8.43

Although the city's population increased by 8.5 percent between 1940 and 1950, its Negro population increased 146.8 percent and accounted for 3.4 percent of the residents of the city. By 1950 Negroes resided in all of the inner core's 26 tracts, but 79.3 percent of them lived in six tracts and made up 63.3 percent of the population of those tracts. Between 1940 and 1950 the residential area open to Negroes did not expand to keep pace with the growth of the Negro population.

From 1950 to 1960 the Negro population grew to 62,458, an increase of 186.9 percent. This brought Negroes to 8.4 percent of the city's population. The increase was heaviest in the early years of the decade, due largely to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168
88C
88B
88A
218
WB156
221
220
89
87
86
157
WB155
W174B
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SH-158
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W179
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W182
101
102
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46
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29
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31
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4
W175B
W175A
W183
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208B
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205A
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HA224B
HA224A
G204
205C
C210B
SM213B
SM212
OC216A
SM214
SM215
SM213A
F217A
OC216B
F217B
OC216C

MILWAUKEE COUNTY
CENSUS TRACTS

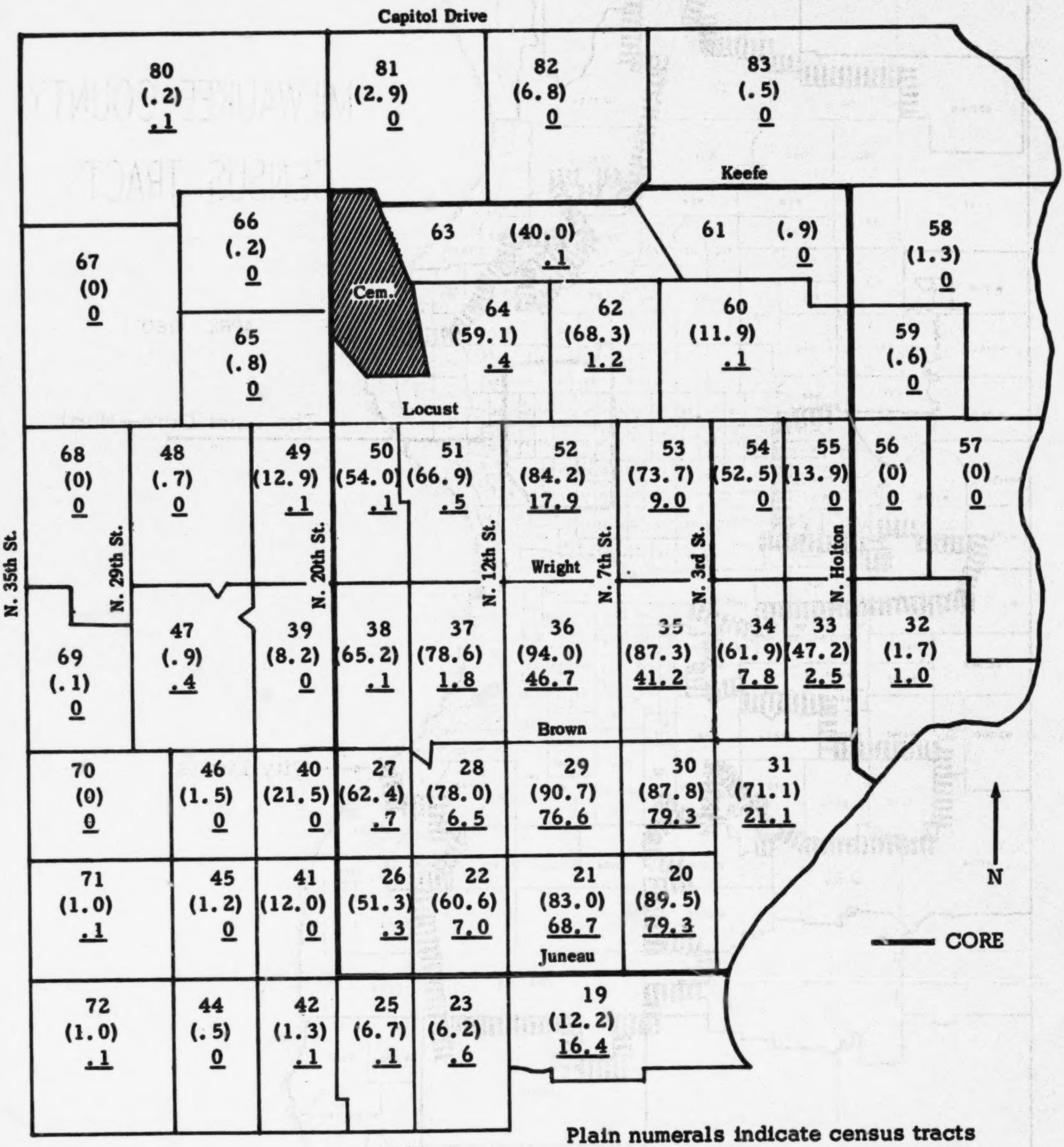
APRIL 1960

The Inner Core—North

City Limits

MAP 1

Growth of Negro Population in Selected Census Tracts, Milwaukee, 1950-1960


Capitol Drive
Keefe
Locust
Wright
Brown
Juneau
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N. 20th St.
N. 12th St.
N. 7th St.
N. 3rd St.
N. Holton
Cem.
80 (.2) .1
81 (2.9) 0
82 (6.8) 0
83 (.5) 0
66 (.2) 0
67 (0) 0
63 (40.0) .1
61 (.9) 0
58 (1.3) 0
65 (.8) 0
64 (59.1) .4
62 (68.3) 1.2
60 (11.9) .1
59 (.6) 0
68 (0) 0
48 (.7) 0
49 (12.9) .1
50 (54.0) .1
51 (66.9) .5
52 (84.2) 17.9
53 (73.7) 9.0
54 (52.5) 0
55 (13.9) 0
56 (0) 0
57 (0) 0
69 (.1) 0
47 (.9) .4
39 (8.2) 0
38 (65.2) .1
37 (78.6) 1.8
36 (94.0) 46.7
35 (87.3) 41.2
34 (61.9) 7.8
33 (47.2) 2.5
32 (1.7) 1.0
70 (0) 0
46 (1.5) 0
40 (21.5) 0
27 (62.4) .7
28 (78.0) 6.5
29 (90.7) 76.6
30 (87.8) 79.3
31 (71.1) 21.1
71 (1.0) .1
45 (1.2) 0
41 (12.0) 0
26 (51.3) .3
22 (60.6) 7.0
21 (83.0) 68.7
20 (89.5) 79.3
72 (1.0) .1
44 (.5) 0
42 (1.3) .1
25 (6.7) .1
23 (6.2) .6
19 (12.2) 16.4
N
CORE

Plain numerals indicate census tracts
Numerals in parentheses indicate 1960
percentage of Negroes
Underlined numerals indicate 1950
percentage of Negroes

MAP 2

Table 1-2: Population of Inner Core—North Tracts, 1940, 1950, and 1960, and Percentage Changes 1940-50, 1950-60

Tract Number	Population 1940	 1950	 1960	Percentage Change 1940-50	 1950-60
20	1656	2530	1496	52.7	-40.9
21	3395	4088	3010	20.4	-26.4
22	3611	3505	2996	- 2.9	-14.5
26	3539	3571	3455	.9	- 3.2
27	3186	3135	3066	- 1.6	- 2.2
28	3353	3158	2960	- 5.8	- 6.3
29	4498	5287	2306	17.5	-56.4
30	3510	3900	2182	11.1	-44.1
31	2304	2407	1615	4.5	-32.9
33	3421	3513	3370	2.7	- 4.1
34	2871	3050	2818	6.2	- 7.6
35	4603	4629	3713	.6	-19.8
36	6648	7257	6113	9.2	-15.8
37	4560	4380	4234	- 3.9	- 3.3
38	3609	3604	3596	- .1	- .2
50	3676	3425	3503	- 6.8	2.3
51	3828	3585	3305	- 6.3	- 7.8
52	5250	5609	5285	6.8	- 5.8
53	3596	3742	3599	4.1	- 3.8
54	2608	2582	2314	- 1.0	-10.4
55	2892	2794	2703	- 3.3	- 3.3
60	5730	5567	5168	- 2.8	- 7.2
61	4663	4593	4114	- 1.5	-10.4
62	3788	3911	3838	3.2	- 1.9
63	5463	5269	5333	- 3.6	1.2
64	6534	6556	6732	.3	2.7
TOTAL	102792	105647	92824	2.8	-12.7

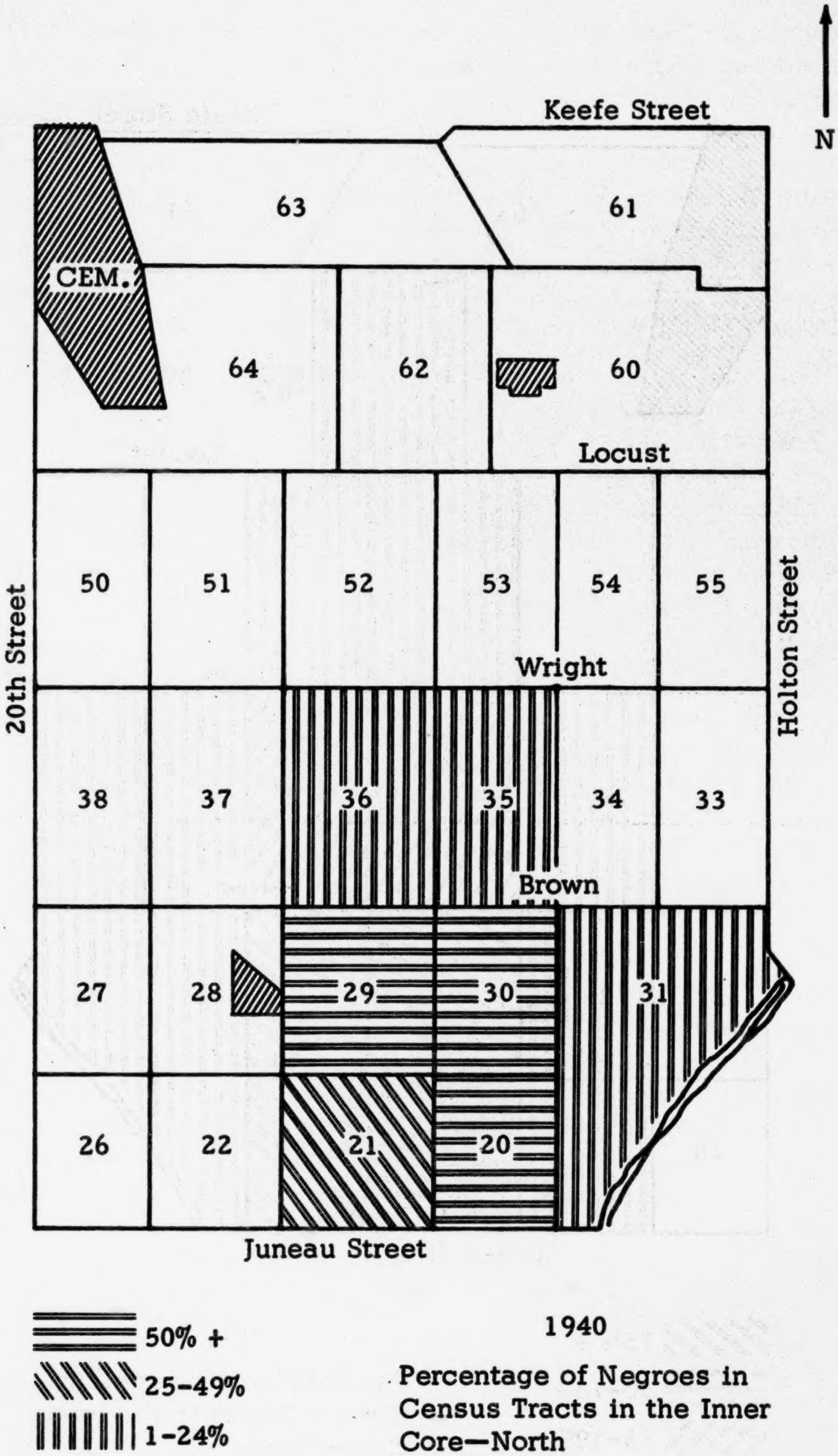
in-migration. In 1950, there were 21,772 nonwhites in Milwaukee and by 1960 an additional 43,659 nonwhites had entered the city. Of the 22,216 children under age 10 in 1960 who could have been born in Wisconsin, 16,294, or 73.3 percent, had been born in the state. The rest were part of the 27,363 nonwhite in-migrants who came to the city during the 1950's. In the first five years of the decade 16,358 nonwhites arrived in the city and 11,005 more came between 1955 and 1960. In the latter group, 55 percent were adults, i.e., persons 20 years of age and older.

THE POPULATION OF THE CORE

By 1960, twenty-four census tracts in the core had large numbers of Negroes and they housed 83.2 percent of the city's Negroes. At that time Negroes constituted 67.5 percent of the residents of these tracts. The entire twenty-six-tract area held 88.7 percent of the Negro population and they made up about 60 percent of the core's population. If the four tracts to the west of the core with 200 or more Negroes are considered, then Negroes were living in thirty tracts and made up 52.2 percent of the 102,655 residents of these tracts. Three additional tracts to the south of the core had 920 Negro residents.

The inner core was a declining area that lost 12.1 percent of its population during the 1950's. Even in the 1940's almost half of its tracts lost population, although the entire area gained 2.8 percent between 1940 and 1950. Only two tracts failed to lose population between 1950 and 1960, and one tract lost only a fraction of a percent. All the other tracts lost more than one percent of their people, three tracts lost one-third or more of their people, and one lost more than half of its 1950 population. Three of the latter tracts (20, 29, and 30) were redevelopment areas. Some further details on the changes in the core in relation to housing are spelled out later.

In 1960, 51.9 percent of the Negroes in the core area lived in tracts which were more than 75 percent Negro in population. These were "highly segregated" tracts. Another 36.6 percent lived in "segregated" tracts, i.e., those with from 50 percent to 74 percent Negro residents. Tracts with between 25 percent and 49 percent of their residents Negroes were classified as "transitional." The three tracts in this category had 9.6 percent of the Negroes in the core. The tracts with less than 25 percent Negroes were called "integrated"; only 2 percent of the core's Negroes lived in these tracts.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Keefe Street
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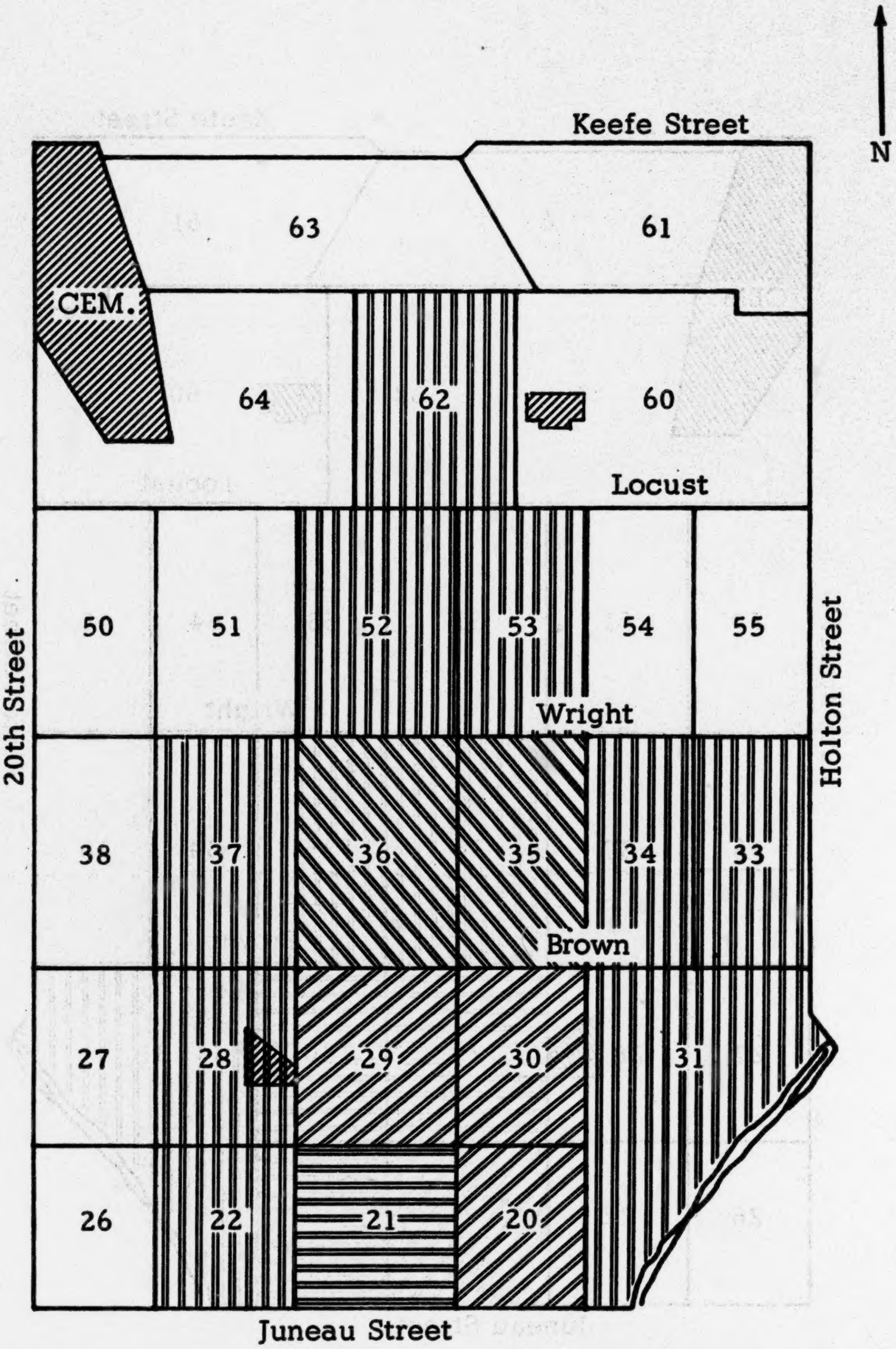
20th Street
Holton Street
Wright
38
37
36
35
34
33
Brown
27
28
29
30
31
26
22
21
20
Juneau Street
50% +
25-49%
1-24%

1940

Percentage of Negroes in Census Tracts in the Inner Core—North

MAP 3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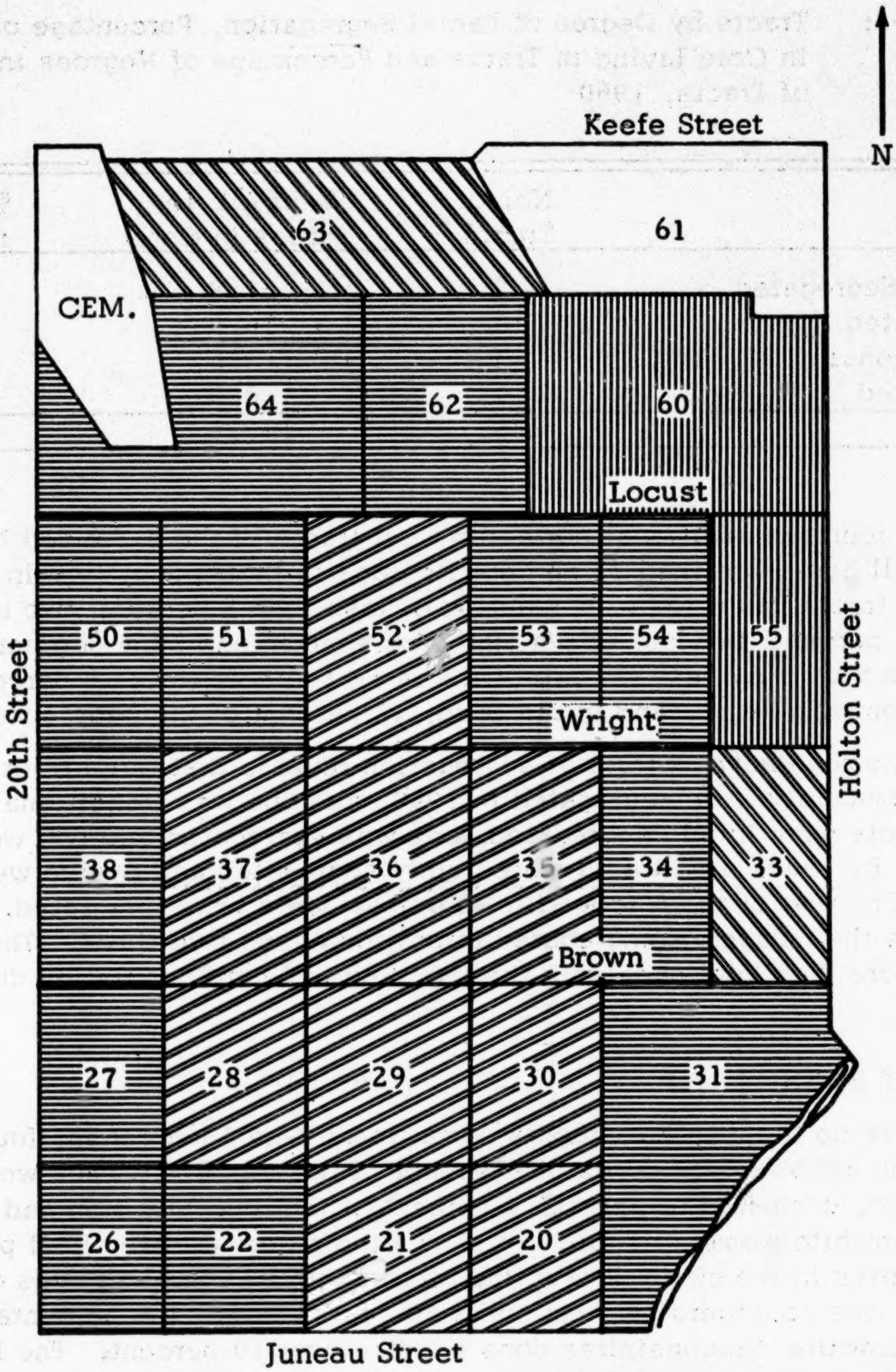
22
21
20
Juneau Street

▨ 75% +
☰ 50-74%
▧ 25-49%
▥ 1-24%

1950

Percentage of Negroes in Census Tracts in the Inner Core—North

MAP 4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Brown
27
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30
31
26
22
21
20
Juneau Street

▨ 75% +

▤ 50-74%

▧ 25-49%

▥ 1-24%

1960

Percentage of Negroes in Census Tracts in the Inner Core—North

MAP 5

Table 1-3: Tracts by Degree of Racial Segregation, Percentage of all Negroes in Core Living in Tracts and Percentage of Negroes in Populations of Tracts, 1960

	No. of Tracts	% of All Negroes in Core	% Negroes in Tracts
Highly Segregated	9	51.8	86.0
Segregated	10	36.6	62.2
Transitional	3	9.6	40.4
Integrated	4	2.0	6.6
TOTAL	26	100.0	

The fourteen additional north and west tracts of the expanded Negro community all had fewer than 25 percent Negroes in their population in 1960. Nine of these tracts had a Negro population of less than 5 percent; two had between 5 and 10 percent; two had 12 percent each, and in one 21.5 percent of the residents were Negroes. In two of the three southern tracts 6 percent of the population was Negro, and in the third, 12 percent of the people were Negroes.

Using the above criteria of segregation reveals that three tracts in the Negro community were segregated in 1940, and one was transitional. In 1950, three tracts were highly segregated, one was segregated and two were transitional. By 1960, nine tracts were highly segregated and twelve were segregated. The rest of the tracts with Negro residents were integrated. Within ten years the number of segregated tracts increased five times. Thus, segregation more than kept pace with the increase in Negro population during the 1950's.

PLACE OF BIRTH

Where do the city's residents come from? The 1960 census found that among the native-born whites, 80 percent of the men and women were born in Wisconsin, compared to only 35.4 percent of the nonwhite men and 34 percent of the nonwhite women. Table 1-4 shows the place of birth of all persons and of nonwhites in the city. Few of the older nonwhites were natives of the state, and until one considers persons under 30 years of age, the percentage of native nonwhite Wisconsinites does not rise over 10 percent. The largest number of nonwhites came from southern states.

Nearby Chicago had a few more nonwhites who were natives of the state than was found in Milwaukee. In Chicago, 38.6 percent of nonwhite men and 37.5 percent of the women had been born in Illinois. However, 42.4 percent of the men came from the South. Although this is almost 5 percent less than the number of persons of southern birth in Milwaukee, the South provided a substantial part of Chicago's nonwhite population.

Table 1-4: Place of Birth, All Residents and Nonwhite Residents, by Sex, MILWAUKEE, 1960

	All		Nonwhites	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Wisconsin	75.9	77.1	35.4	34.0
Northeast U.S.	1.9	1.4	.5	-
North central U.S.	11.0	10.8	8.3	8.6
South	6.1	6.3	46.9	50.7
West	.9	.7	.8	.5
Other	.5	.4	.1	-
Unknown	3.7	3.2	7.8	5.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

It is often assumed that Negroes are predominantly rural in origin and, if from the South, that they have been rural residents. It is true that not too many years ago most Negroes were rural dwellers, but it is a measure of the extent of the revolution in Negro life during the last generation, that in 1960 73.2 percent of the Negro population of the United States lived in urban places. The percentage of urban dwellers among Negroes varies from state to state. In Wisconsin, 98.6 percent live in urban places compared to 97.5 percent in New York, 97.7 percent in Illinois, 56.6 percent in Alabama, and only 32.1 percent in Mississippi. Urban places vary greatly in size. What is probably more important is that 51 percent of the Negroes lived in central cities, another 8.4 percent lived in the urban fringe, and 13.5 percent in other urban places. In comparison, 30 percent of the whites in the nation lived in central cities, 22.8 percent in the urban fringe, and 16.8 percent in other urban places. This means that 69.5 percent of the whites, but 73.2 percent of the Negroes are urban dwellers, with proportionately more Negroes than whites living in central cities. Living in a city does not necessarily mean that a person is urbanized, but it does mean exposure to urban behavior, attitudes, and values. Although this can help in the process of "urbanization" or adjustment to life in the city, it can also become the occasion for conflict and confusion, especially for people who are not drawn into the mainstream of life in the city, regardless of their race.

AGE

The age structure of a community is closely related to such things as the characteristics of its labor force, family size and many other things. In 1960 the typical (median) age of Milwaukee's native-born whites was 28.5 years for men and 30 years for women; for Negroes it was 20.3 years for men and 20.5 years for women. The median age for native whites is used instead of the figure for all whites because of the much higher median age of the foreign-born whites who constitute 7.6 percent of the city's population.[1] Because 74 percent of these people are beyond the age of 45, in terms of the dynamics of future population growth it seemed logical to focus on comparisons between the native-born whites and Negroes.

Instead of comparing the median ages of Milwaukeeans to the overall national figures, they have been compared to those of whites and nonwhites residing in central cities in the nation. This has the advantage of comparing local urban dwellers with the kind of urbanites with whom they probably have the most in common. In central cities, nonwhites were substantially younger than whites and the same was true in Milwaukee and Chicago.

Table 1-5: Median Ages, by Color, U.S. Central Cities, Chicago, and MILWAUKEE, 1960

	U.S. Central Cities		Chicago		MILWAUKEE	
	White	Nonwhite	Native White	Negro	Native White	Negro
Men	31.7	25.3	30.2	24.6	28.5	20.3
Women	34.2	26.3	32.5	25.6	30.0	20.5

Milwaukee had a smaller percentage of older people in 1960 than the nation or its central cities, but more than Chicago. Its percentage of older nonwhites, however, was not only below the national figure and that for central cities, it was about half as much as Chicago's.

Table 1-6: Percentage of Persons 65 and Over, United States, Central Cities, Chicago, and MILWAUKEE, 1960

	United States		Central Cities		Chicago		MILWAUKEE	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
White	8.8	10.4	9.7	11.9	5.9	8.1	6.6	8.9
Nonwhite	6.0*	6.3*	5.1*	5.5*	4.4**	4.9**	2.3**	2.6**

*nonwhites   ** Negroes

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[1] The median ages for foreign-born men and women were 58.3 years and 58.2 years respectively.

The percentage of white Milwaukeeans over 65 increased between 1950 and 1960, while the percentage of older Negroes decreased because of the arrival of younger in-migrants during the 1950's. If persons 55 years of age and older are considered the aging, then the contrast between the white and Negro population is even more striking. Only 7 percent of the Negro men, for example, were over 55, compared to 17 percent of the native white men. If the foreign-born whites were included in the white figures, an even higher percentage of whites would be in the older age group. At a conservative estimate, the percentage of Negroes over 65 will increase to about 3.4 percent by 1970, a figure which will be substantially less than the percentage of older whites and only slightly higher than the percentage of older Negroes in 1960.

Table 1-7: Percentage of Native Whites and Negroes 65 and Older, MILWAUKEE, 1950 and 1960

	1950		1960	
	Whites	Negroes	Whites	Negroes
Men	5.0	3.2	6.6	2.3
Women	6.6	3.4	8.9	2.6

During the 1950's, the median ages of native white men and women in Milwaukee declined slightly but there was a very substantial decline of eight years for Negro men and six years for Negro women. This drop in the median age of the Negroes was largely a function of the heavy in-migration of younger Negroes during the 1950's.

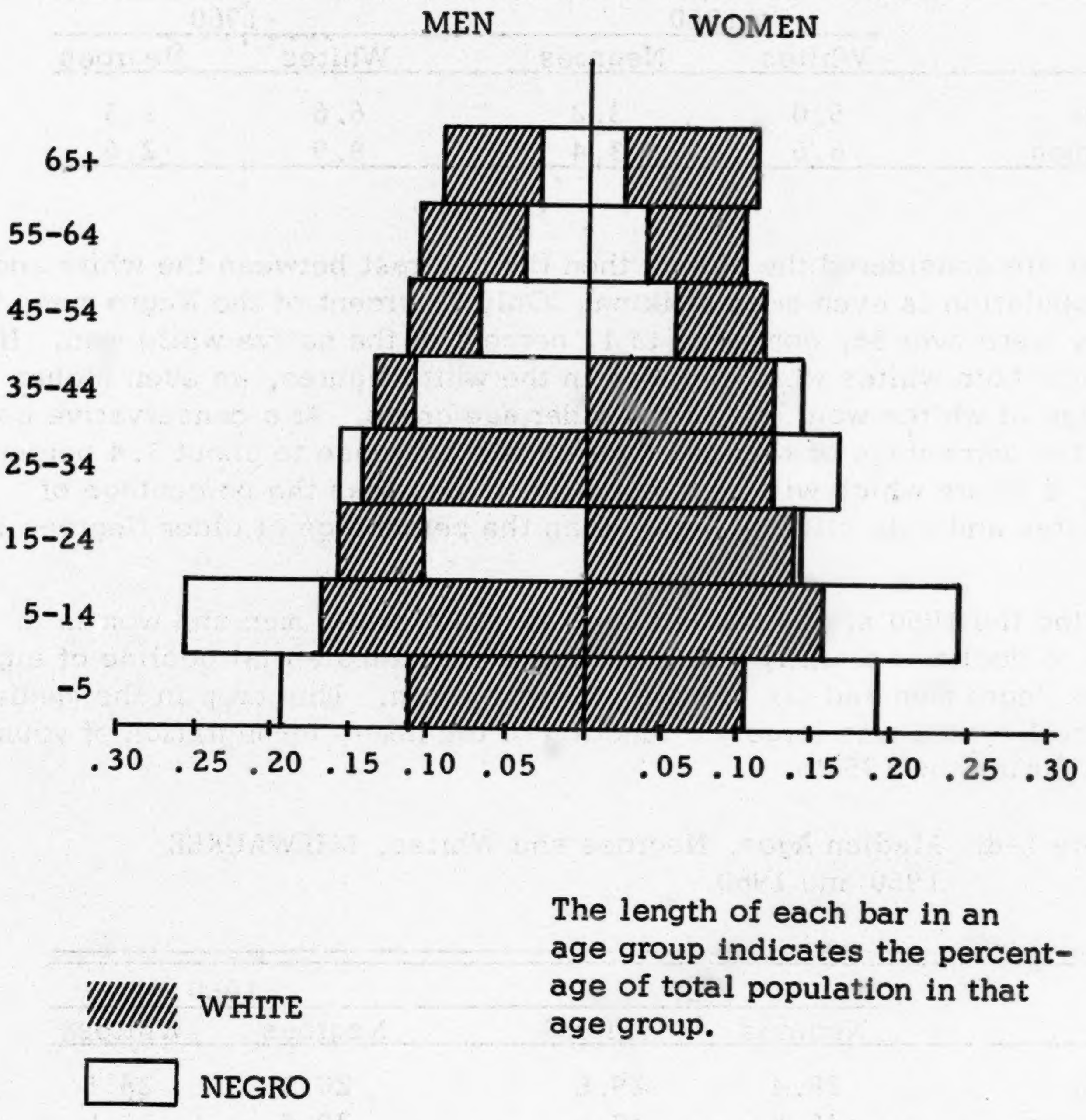
Table 1-8: Median Ages, Negroes and Whites, MILWAUKEE, 1950 and 1960

	1950		1960	
	Negroes	Whites*	Negroes	Whites*
Men	28.4	29.6	20.3	28.5
Women	26.8	30.6	20.5	30.0

*native whites

The younger character of the Negro population is shown graphically in figure 5, a population pyramid for Milwaukee. The larger proportion of Negro children is evident and continues until the early teens. Then there are relatively more white boys and young men until the middle 20's. There are

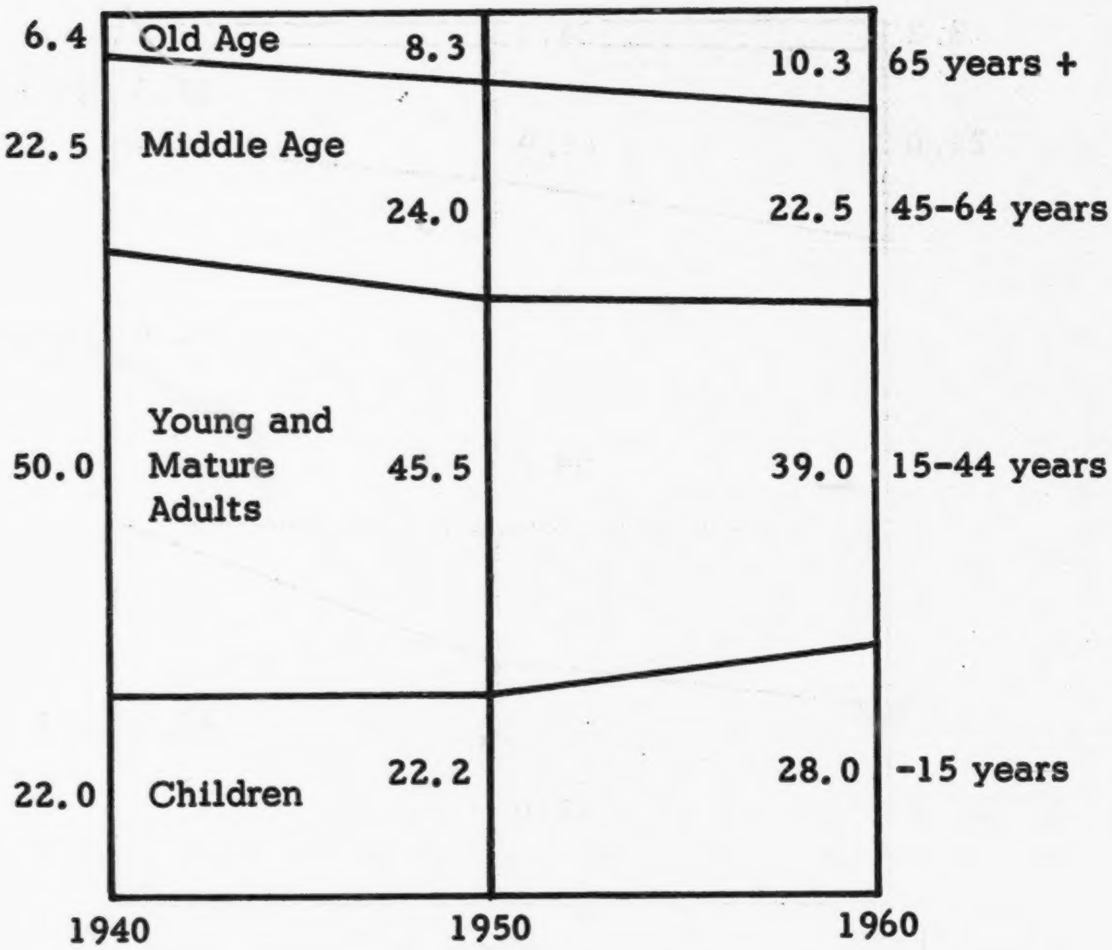
Population of Milwaukee, 1960



The length of each bar in an age group indicates the percentage of total population in that age group.

CHART 1

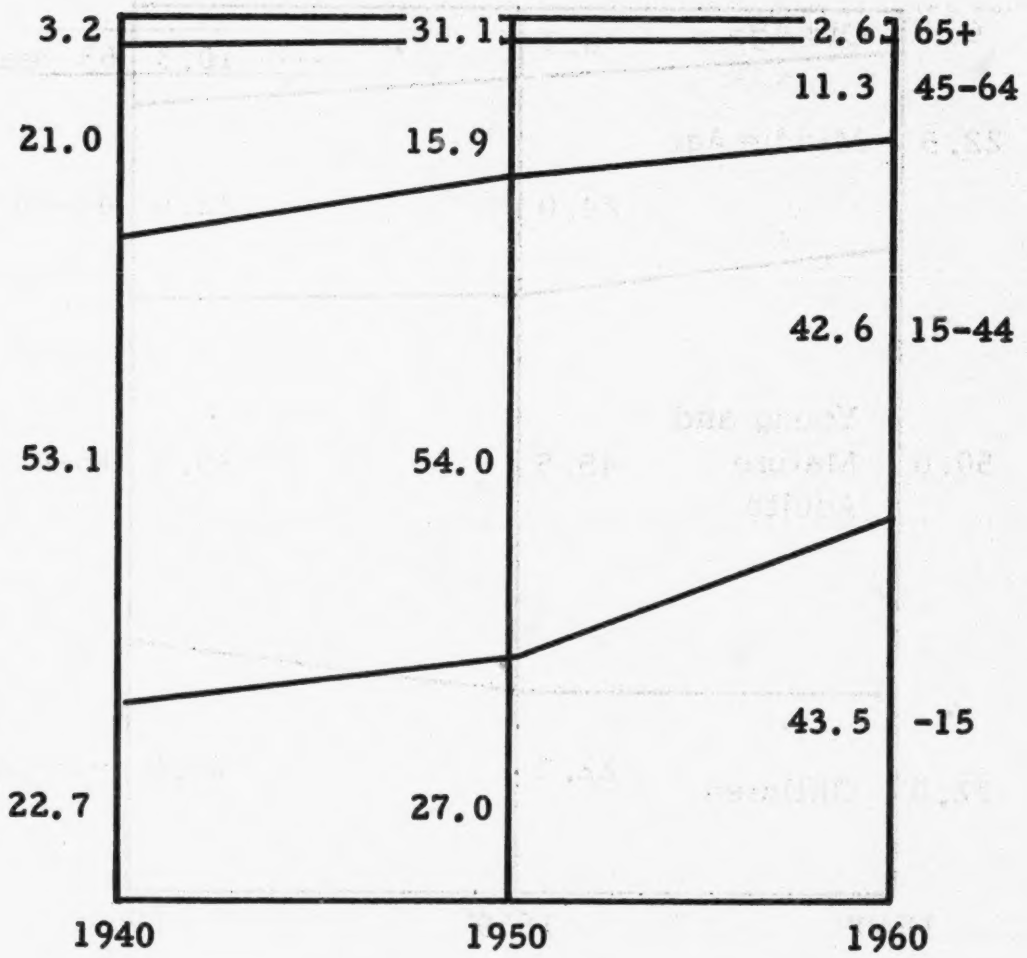
WHITE



Changes in Age Distributions
White Population, Milwaukee

CHART 2

NEGRO



Changes in Age Distribution,
Negro Population, Milwaukee

CHART 3

proportionately more mature young Negro men until the middle 30's, then the white age groups predominate. Notice, for example, that 11 percent of the Negro men but 22.2 percent of the white men are middle-aged (45-64 years),

Table 1-9: Age by Race and Sex. MILWAUKEE, Chicago and Central Cities

	MILWAUKEE				Chicago				Central Cities			
	Native White		Negro		Native White		Negro		White		Nonwhite	
Age	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
5	12.5	11.5	20.2	18.3	11.4	10.3	16.5	14.9	11.3	10.6	14.5	14.1
5-14	22.6	17.3	23.9	24.5	17.8	16.4	21.9	20.3	20.0	18.7	23.1	22.5
15-19	6.7	7.0	5.5	6.3	7.2	7.2	6.0	6.4	7.4	7.2	7.9	7.7
20-24	8.2	7.5	6.2	7.9	6.5	7.0	6.0	7.4	5.9	6.0	6.5	6.7
25-34	14.5	13.1	16.8	18.3	13.8	12.2	14.7	16.0	12.7	12.7	13.0	13.7
35-44	13.1	13.1	12.8	11.2	14.6	14.8	13.4	13.9	13.5	13.7	12.2	12.6
45-54	11.8	12.3	7.3	6.6	13.6	14.2	10.0	9.5	11.7	11.7	9.8	9.8
55-64	10.4	9.2	4.8	4.1	9.2	9.8	7.0	6.6	8.8	9.1	6.8	6.7
65+	6.6	8.9	2.3	2.6	5.9	8.1	4.4	4.9	8.8	10.4	6.1	6.3

and that 9.3 percent of all white men but only 2.8 percent of the Negro men are over 65 years of age. The fact that 42.8 percent of the Negro women are under the age of 14, compared to only 28.8 percent of the native white women, who will have the major share of white children in the city in the future, is an added factor in the relative potential for population increase in the two races. Furthermore, 43.8 percent of the Negro women now are in the child-bearing ages between 15 and 44, compared to 39.3 percent of the white women. Factors like these contribute to a higher potential for growth among nonwhites than among whites. Eventually this will place increased demands upon community facilities for education, recreation and so forth, and result in more entrants to the labor force.

In 1960 there were 12,008 Negro children under the age of 5 in the city. By 1965 there could be about 15,156 and by 1970, 20,062 children of this age.[2] Most Negro children were concentrated in the core area in 1960 and unless the Negro population is dispersed during the 1960's, educational problems will be intensified as this increasing number of Negro children moves into the schools. The Negro children in the early school years (ages 5 to 9) numbered 9,245 in 1960. There could be about 12,460 of them in 1965 and 15,970 in 1970. The increase in this age group will impose stresses upon facilities. The same kind of progression holds for other school age children, all pointing toward growing educational and other needs. These needs will be especially crucial if the Negro community continues to be a segregated community.

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[2] Assuming high birthrate and high level in-migration. See Chapter 6.

SEX RATIO

The sex ratio, or the proportion of men to women in the population is important because of its relation to marriage rates, the labor force, household composition, fertility, and many other things. Nationally the sex ratio has declined steadily since 1940. In 1960 it was 97.4 for whites and 93.4 for Negroes. In 1940 when Milwaukee had one-seventh the number of Negroes it had in 1960, there were 103 Negro men for every 100 women. The change in the sex ratio was more substantial in Milwaukee than it was nationally. In spite of this, Milwaukee's ratio remained higher than the national ratio and higher than Chicago's.

Table 1-10: Population Distribution, by Sex and Race, MILWAUKEE, 1960

	Negro	Other Nonwhite	Native Whites	Foreign-Born Whites
Men	30,401 (48.7)	1719 (56.3)	300,914 (48.6)	28,302 (50.3)
Women	31,976 (51.3)	1333 (43.7)	318,705 (51.4)	27,974 (49.7)

Table 1-11: Sex Ratios, U.S., Chicago, and MILWAUKEE

	United States		Chicago		MILWAUKEE	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
1940	102.2	95.0	98.7	88.7	96.8	103.5
1950	99.0	94.3	97.0	90.6	95.3	106.2*
1960	97.4	93.4	95.4	92.0	94.4	95.0

*nonwhites

Among native whites in Milwaukee the ratio was 94.4 men to every 100 women and for Negroes it was 95. In the young adult ages (20-34 years), however, there were 97.6 native white men for every 100 women while there were only 83.3 Negro men for every 100 Negro women. The surplus of younger Negro women is quite large and may complicate the problem of finding marriage partners.

MARITAL STATUS

Some gross indicators of the status of family life among whites and nonwhites are found in the census data on marital status. Nationally, the percentage of single persons was not too different among whites and nonwhites

Table 1-12: Marital Status, Central Cities and MILWAUKEE, 1960*

	Central Cities US				MILWAUKEE			
	Whites		Nonwhites		Whites		Nonwhites	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Single	25.5	20.7	27.4	20.5	25.5	22.1	26.8	19.4
Married	66.5	59.7	58.3	51.3	66.7	61.2	59.6	55.9
Separated	1.3	1.7	6.5	10.0	.8	1.3	5.4	8.9
Widowed	4.0	14.0	4.9	13.6	4.1	12.3	3.5	8.3
Divorced	2.7	3.9	3.0	4.7	2.8	3.4	4.6	7.3

*persons 14 and older

and neither was there much difference in the percentage of the widowed and divorced. However, there were considerably more separated nonwhites than whites. Likewise, Milwaukee had more nonwhites than whites divorced or separated. Ten percent of the nonwhite men and 16.2 percent of the nonwhite women had currently broken marriages, compared to 3.6 percent of the white men and 4.7 percent of the white women. A similar situation existed in Chicago where 4 percent of the white men were separated or divorced, compared to 11.5 percent of the nonwhite men. The same held true for 4.9 percent of the white women and 9.5 percent of the nonwhite women in that city.

Another indicator of lesser family stability among nonwhites is the frequency with which families are not headed by a husband and wife. Among Milwaukee County's nonwhite families with children under 18, 21.6 percent were not headed by a married couple. The same was true of only 5.4 percent of all families in the county. Most of the broken families were headed by a woman.

In 1960, 18.2 percent of the married, nonwhite women in the Milwaukee area reported husbands absent from their homes. In some cases the absence was temporary, perhaps because of employment or military service; in others the absence was permanent. Such absences affected six nonwhite women for

Table 1-13: Spouse not in Household, Whites and Nonwhites, Chicago and MILWAUKEE, 1960
(married persons 14 and older)

	Chicago		MILWAUKEE	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Whites	3.8	3.8	3.1	2.9
Nonwhites	16.7	23.7	13.6	18.2

every white woman similarly affected in Milwaukee. Although the incidence of absent husbands and wives was high among Milwaukee's nonwhites, it was even higher in Chicago. The implications of such absences for stable family life are obvious.

BIRTHRATE

Between 1950 and 1960 the white birthrate in Milwaukee increased from 22.2 per 1000 population to 25.2 per 1000, while the Negro birthrate increased from 37.6 to 42.9 per 1000. The comparable Negro birthrate for Chicago was 38 per 1000 in 1960. Table 1-14 shows some of the vital statistics for whites and Negroes in both years. Although white stillbirths decreased during the decade, the nonwhite rate declined less and remained much higher than the white rate. The death rate for children within the first 28 days of life declined for whites but increased for Negro children, and the same happened for deaths within the first year of life. Of all deaths within the first 28 days of life, 18.5 percent were Negroes, and so were 20.2 percent of those who died within the first year of life. Although Negro births accounted for 13.5 percent of all births in the city during 1960, 25.6 percent of all stillbirths were Negro stillbirths.

Table 1-14: Vital Statistics, Whites and Negroes,
MILWAUKEE, 1950, 1960

	1950		1960	
	Whites	Negro	Whites	Negro
Marriages*	11.8	13.5	8.1	5.2
Live Births*	22.2	37.6	25.2	42.9
Stillbirths**	14.2	28.1	12.4	27.3
Deaths, to 28 days**	20.2	24.4	18.2	26.5
Deaths, to 1 year**	24.8	34.2	23.0	37.3
Total Deaths	9.3	9.3	10.5	6.3

* rate per 1000 population
** rate per 1000 live births

The problem confronting nonwhites is not confined to housing, employment, and so forth. Long before the individual nonwhite faces these problems, he faces greater odds in surviving birth and the first year of life. Although the higher birthrate among Negroes may contribute to some of the differences between white and Negro stillbirths, for example, the exceptionally high death rate for Negro infants points to a serious public health problem that denies equal opportunity to Negroes in a most fundamental way.

The higher Negro birthrate is partly attributable to the younger character of the Negro population. Although very few girls under the age of 15 have babies, the rate was higher among Negro girls than it was among white girls. Twice as many Negro girls between 15 and 19 have children than do white girls in the same age range. This means that more Negro women begin having children earlier in life and have a longer time for child bearing. The typical (modal) white and Negro woman had children in her early 20's, but many Negro women had children before their 20's. After the age of 25 differences between the white and nonwhite women tended to be minimal.

Table 1-15: Ages of Women Having Children, MILWAUKEE, 1960

	White	Negro
Under 15	.1	.7
15-19	8.3	17.4
20-24	38.1	31.2
25-29	27.1	25.2
30-34	15.4	15.0
35-44	10.7	8.4

The recorded illegitimacy rate in Milwaukee in 1960 was 30.6 per 1000 white births and 191.9 per 1000 nonwhite births. Almost one in every five nonwhite births was illegitimate. White illegitimate births accounted for 50.5 percent of all such births in the city in 1960 and nonwhites accounted for 49.5 percent of them. The white rate increased from 17.2 in 1950 to 30.6 in 1960, and the nonwhite rate increased from 147.7 to 191.9 during the decade.

The high illegitimacy rate among nonwhites has many and complex causes, and they are not investigated in this survey. However, the fact that almost one-fifth of all nonwhite births occur out of wedlock presents a clear challenge to the community. A related and, in the long run, perhaps as serious a problem in view of the known facts about marital breakdown, is the fact that many socially and personally immature young girls are having children, whether in or out of wedlock. In 1960, 10 percent of all births in the city were to girls under the age of 20. Nonwhite girls gave birth to a disproportionately large number of these children. Although they made up 8 percent of all girls between 15 and 19, they had 25.7 percent of the children born to girls in this age group.

Table 1-16: Illegitimate Births, MILWAUKEE, 1950-1961

	White				Nonwhite			
		Illegitimate Births		% of All Illegitimate Births	Total Births	Illegitimate Births		% of All Illegitimate Births
Year	Total Births	Number	Rate*			Number	Rate*	
1950	13,640	235	17.2	66.0	819	121	147.7	34.0
1951	14,713	291	19.8	67.2	1,044	142	136.0	32.8
1952	15,076	285	18.9	59.7	1,341	192	143.2	40.3
1953	14,952	311	20.8	59.4	1,569	213	135.8	40.6
1954	15,786	390	24.7	59.1	1,775	270	152.1	40.9
1955	15,905	346	21.8	54.4	1,935	290	149.9	45.6
1956	16,538	423	25.6	53.8	2,287	363	158.7	46.2
1957	17,484	418	23.9	53.9	2,438	358	146.8	46.1
1958	16,533	396	24.0	48.7	2,438	417	171.0	51.3
1959	16,868	449	26.6	49.6	2,607	457	175.3	50.4
1960	17,120	524	30.6	50.5	2,678	514	191.9	49.5
1961	16,512	591	35.8	51.6	2,814	554	196.9	48.4

*Rate per 1,000 births

Table 1-17: Children Ever Born to Married Women, by Race, MILWAUKEE SMSA, 1960

	All	Nonwhite
15-19	.7	1.1
20-24	1.3	2.2
25-29	2.2	2.9
30-34	2.6	3.2
35-39	2.6	2.9
40-44	2.4	2.6
45-49	2.2	2.4
TOTAL	2.3	2.8

Statistics about the number of children ever born to married women in the Milwaukee area probably are most meaningful in the case of women past the child-bearing age, but trends are evident in younger groups as well. Nonwhite women over 65 had given birth to an average of 3.6 children compared to an average of 2.9 for all women in the city. For women between the ages of 35 and 65, the difference in the number of children ever born to all women and nonwhite women decreased, but in the younger age groups differences again became more apparent. This is more significant in the younger age group because their child-bearing careers are not yet over. By the time they complete their families the differences in number of children between the nonwhites and whites can be much greater than at present.

POVERTY

As will be seen later, the economic position of Milwaukee's Negroes improved considerably during the 1950's. By 1960, 6.8 percent of the nonwhite families in the metropolitan area had incomes of $10,000 or more, compared to 21.4 percent of the white families. At the other end of the scale, 26 percent of the nonwhite families but only 8.8 percent of the white families in the Milwaukee area had incomes below the $3000 level, and another 11.9 percent of the nonwhites and 4.7 percent of the whites had incomes between $3,000 and $4,000. It is evident that many nonwhite families are economically disadvantaged in the Milwaukee area.

Table 1-18: Family Income, MILWAUKEE SMSA, 1960

Income	Nonwhite	White
To $2,999	26.1	8.8
$3,000-3,999	11.9	4.7
$4,000-5,999	28.0	20.6
$6,000-9,999	27.1	44.4
$10,000	6.8	21.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Although an increasing number of Negroes are achieving adequate incomes and middle class status, many are still in the ranks of the poverty-stricken. Definitions of poverty differ and what would be poverty in one part of the country, or for one person, might not qualify as poverty for another. In general, however, poverty means an excessively low income that connotes inadequate shelter, food, and clothing and precludes obtaining amenities that meet minimal psychic and cultural needs. Poverty, even of the genteel variety, can impose socially undesirable decisions upon families—for example, the decision to forego medical care in order to buy food; or it can force a child to leave school prematurely in order to supplement a family's income.

A recent study of poverty in the United States considered families with incomes of less than $4000 to be living in poverty (1). According to this criterion, 61.3 percent of the nation's nonwhite and 27.7 percent of its white families were living in poverty.

Another recent and more detailed study of income and welfare in the United States related income to the family's needs in terms of its size and composition. Based on New York costs, the minimum level budget needs for a family of four—husband, wife and two elementary school children—would be $4330 (5, p. 188). Allowing for regional differences in living costs and other variables locally, a minimum income of about $4000 per family would not be unreasonable. At that figure, 37 percent of the metropolitan area's nonwhite families and 13.5 percent of its white families would be receiving less than a minimum income.

A more conservative approach was used in this study, however, and families receiving less than $3000 were considered poverty-stricken. There were 26.3 percent of the nonwhite and 12.3 percent of the white families in the city in this position in 1959.

DEPENDENCY

The economically productive years are generally between the ages of 20 and 64. Retirement at age 65 is common and many young people remain in school or do not obtain steady jobs until they are about 20 years old. For these reasons the concept of a "dependency ratio" is helpful in estimating the proportion of a population that is under 20 and over 65 and needs more extensive health, welfare, and educational services. These must be provided by that part of the population that is economically productive.

The nation had 49.9 percent of its people who were "dependents" in 1890, 45.8 percent in 1920, 49.8 percent in 1950, and 53.7 percent were in this category in 1960. Most of the increase between 1950 and 1960 was due to the increase in children under 10 years of age. Nationally, the dependency ratio was considerably lower for whites than for nonwhites and the situation was about the same in central cities in the nation and in Milwaukee and Chicago. Milwaukee, however, had a larger percentage of dependent white men than was found either in the nation or in central cities, or in Chicago. This probably is due to the number of older, foreign-born whites in the city. The percentage of dependent nonwhites in Milwaukee was slightly above the national figure and considerably above those for central cities and for Chicago.

Table 1-19: Dependency Ratio, Whites and Nonwhites, U.S., Central Cities, Chicago, and MILWAUKEE, 1960*

	United States		Central Cities		Chicago		MILWAUKEE	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Negro	White	Negro
Men	47.5	52.7	44.4	48.6	42.2	48.8	48.3	51.9
Women	46.9	50.6	44.1	46.4	42.0	46.6	44.7	51.7

*Chicago and Milwaukee data for native whites and Negroes; national data for all whites and nonwhites

Another way of viewing the dependency ratio is to consider the relationship of persons in the labor force to those not in the labor force. Presumably the latter depend for support upon those in the labor force. In 1960 nonwhites over 14 years of age in the labor force comprised 36.3 percent of the nonwhites in Milwaukee county. The comparable figure for whites was 42.2 percent. This means that the support for every 100 Negroes could be expected to come from the 36 who were in the labor force, while the support for every 100 whites could be expected to come from the 42 whites who were in the work force. The use of labor force data ignores the fact that more Negroes than whites were unemployed. Persons in the labor force are, however, seeking employment. A large part of the higher Negro dependency rate is attributable to the high percentage of younger Negro children in Milwaukee.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

The more usual meaning of "dependency" relates to adults and children receiving some kind of public assistance or "relief." The racial distribution of public aid recipients helped by the Milwaukee County Department of Public Welfare in 1960 and 1962 is shown in table 1-20. The disproportionately large percentage of Negro AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) cases is evident and reflects the consequences of marital breakdown, early marriage and other circumstances.

Table 1-20: Public Aid Cases, By Category and Race of Recipients, MILWAUKEE County, 1960, 1962

	1960		1962	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Aid to Dependent Children	47.7	49.6	42.7	54.4
Old Age Assistance	92.1	7.2	90.6	8.5
Blind Aid	86.9	12.0	86.8	12.2
General Assistance	53.8	42.3	53.5	42.3

If the Negro birthrate continues to be high, if the tendency for youthful marriages continues, if the economic status of Negroes does not improve, and if there is no reduction in marital instability in the Negro community, then the prospects for increases in the number of dependent Negro children are excellent. In 1960, 1640 Negro families received AFDC (3). By 1962, there was an increase of 44.3 percent in the number of Negro AFDC families (4). In 1960, there were 9206 nonwhite families in Milwaukee county with children under 18 and 1640 of these were receiving AFDC. This is a rate of 178 per 1000 nonwhite families. At the same time, 1578 white families out of 138,259 white families with children under 18 were receiving AFDC, a rate of 1.14 white families per 1000. If the 1960 rate continues at least during the 1960's, Negro population growth will produce considerably more dependent families by the late 1960's than were carried on the public assistance rolls in 1960.

In 1960, 1603 Negroes and 89,471 whites over the age of 65 resided in Milwaukee County, and 403 of the Negroes and 4589 of the whites received Old Age Assistance.[3] The OAA grant rate was 25 per 100 older Negroes and 5.1 per 100 older whites. The much higher proportion of older Negroes receiving public assistance may be due to patterns of irregular employment, lower incomes that precluded provision for old age and similar things.

The general assistance case rate in the county was 40.2 per 1000 Negroes and 3.3 per 1000 whites. The much higher rate among Negroes reflects their higher unemployment rate and the fact that more nonwhites are not in the labor force, as well as their over-all lower incomes and other factors that contribute to financial dependency. If the general assistance rate for Negroes continues at the high level of 1960, then in 1965 when the Negro population is 82,271 (low projection) there would be 3307 Negro cases receiving general assistance instead of the 2994 in 1960, and by 1970, 4016 Negro cases would be receiving general assistance. Proportionate increases could be expected in other areas of public assistance. Improvement in the economic situation of Negroes could lessen the Negro share of public aid. Failure to effect changes in the present economic condition of many Negroes could expand the dimensions of the problem and increase the dependency rate.

AREAS OF SOCIAL NEED

The deprived are definable in more than strictly economic terms. Their problems require social services just as much as the poverty-stricken and they happen to be found with greater frequency among Negroes than among whites. Some of these problems are shown in table 1-21.

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[3] Forty Negroes and 1069 whites receiving medical aid only were excluded from the total number of OAA recipients.

Table 1-21: Selected Areas of Social Need, Urban U.S., MILWAUKEE, and Chicago, 1960

	% Boys 14-17 out of school		% Families with income -$3000		% Mar. Women with children -6 yrs.[1]		Infant Death Rates[2]		Broken Families[3]		% Unemp. Men[4]	
	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW
Urban U. S.	11.7*		13.7	39.5	18.1	33.1	22.9	43.2	8.1	14.5**	4.5	9.3
MILWAUKEE	7.7	10.4	8.8	26.3	19.6	35.9	23.0	37.3	5.4	21.6	4.0	11.4
Chicago	12.1	15.5	9.8	28.3	16.2	27.8	23.8	39.2	6.8	30.8	4.2	10.6

1. Married women in labor force
2. Deaths under 1 year per 1000 live births
3. One parent families with children under 18 (includes widowed, single, divorced, separated parents)
4. Data for Milwaukee County and Cook County

* All boys 14-17

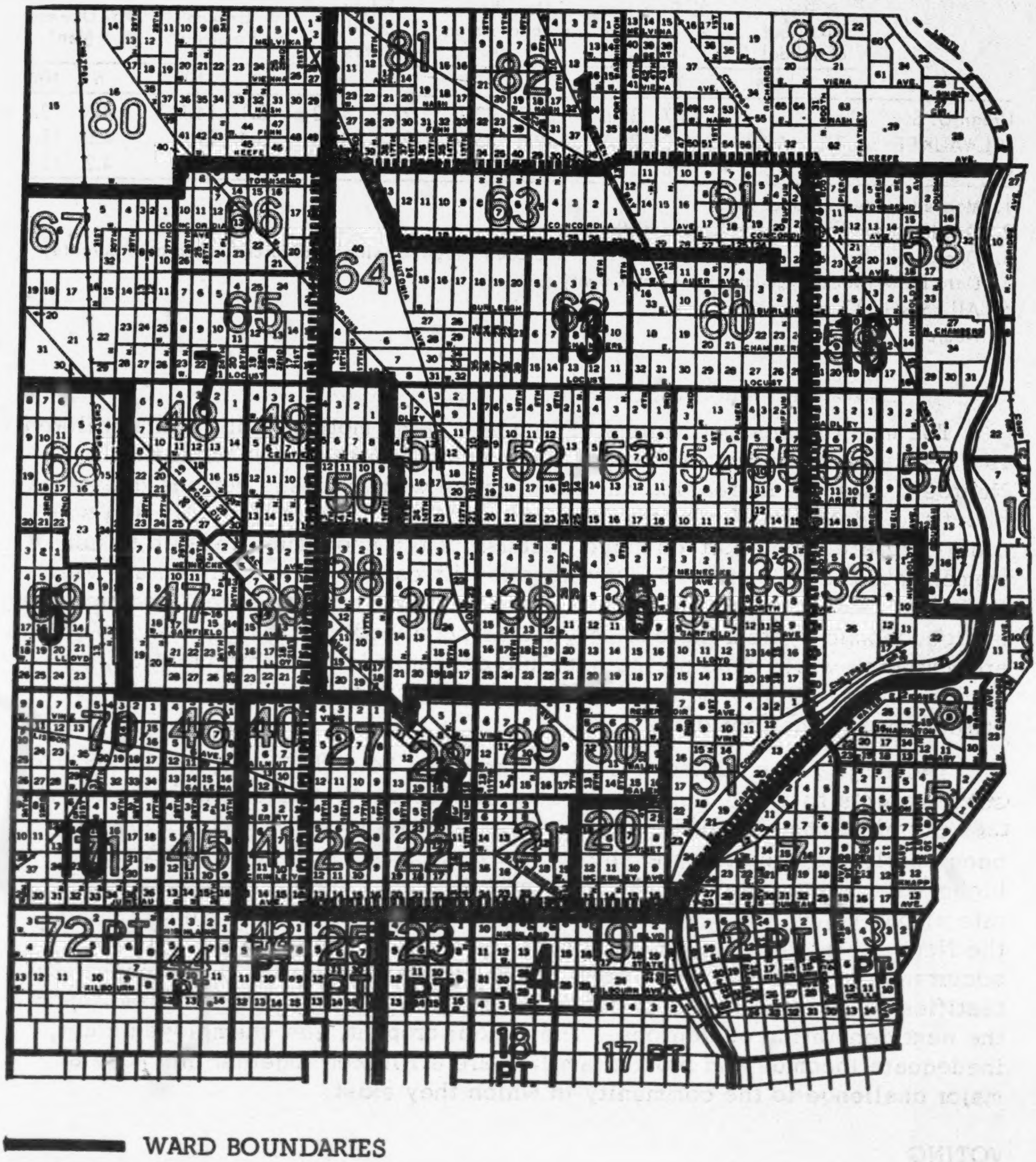
** Negro

The much higher percentage of Negro working mothers with small children is a partial explanation of the narrowing income gap between whites and Negroes. But the increasing number of these women raises serious questions about the adequacy of care these children receive. Will both child and society ultimately be short-changed because of the economic pressure to get women into the labor force? Day-care facilities for young children are very limited throughout the city. Their provision becomes more urgent because the socioeconomic system increasingly relies upon working women, many of whom are mothers, while evading the possible consequences of this practice, especially for the Negro mother who finds it difficult to provide adequate substitute care for her children.

The large percentage of all youths between 14 and 17 who are out of school points to a substantial educational problem that later can be converted into the problems of underemployment and unemployment of men who have been poorly prepared to enter the job market. This is evident in the much higher rate of unemployment among nonwhite men. The higher infant death rate among nonwhites reveals a serious public health problem which denies the Negro child equal opportunity for survival, and the much more frequent occurrence of broken homes among nonwhite families with children under 18 testifies to massive family instability that cannot fail to have an effect upon the next generation of Negroes. The school dropout, the unemployed adult, inadequate incomes and broken families are all linked together and pose a major challenge to the community in which they exist.

VOTING

At the present time only the city's Second Ward has a Negro alderman. This ward includes some of the oldest areas of Negro residence in the city. As shown in map 4, the inner core contains all or most of three city wards,



▬ WARD BOUNDARIES

▦ INNER CORE BOUNDARIES

MAP 6

the 13th, 6th, and 2nd. It also contains part of the 1st and 7th wards. The Negro community, which is more extensive than the core, includes parts of the 18th, 10th, and 4th wards. The north and westward expansion of the Negro community will undoubtedly increase the number of Negro residents and also their political role in these wards during the 1960's.

Because voting statistics are not kept by race, accurate data about Negro voting patterns are not readily available. However, Negroes have a heavy influence upon the political pattern in the core. Within the core area, 53.7 percent of the potential voters were registered in 1960, and 88 percent of these people voted in the presidential election of that year, compared to 90.5 percent of the registered voters in the city. The core figures include both whites and Negroes. The city's vote for President was 61.6 percent for Kennedy and 38 percent for Nixon. In the core it was 68 percent for Kennedy and 32 percent for Nixon.

Although the level of registration was not high in the core, voting by those who do register is virtually as high as it was citywide. The extent to which low registration is a Negro phenomenon is not clear, although it can be assumed to be largely Negro in certain areas. If Negroes can be induced to register, however, they probably will show a high level of voting participation. This can have widespread political repercussions in the years ahead.

SUMMARY

Milwaukee's Negro community has grown rapidly, and is made up of younger people with a high birthrate. Many of its members are recent arrivals in the city and most of them live in areas that are predominantly Negro, or de facto segregated. The excess of younger Negro women in Milwaukee may make it difficult for many of them to enter stable relationships with men. Although a majority of the nonwhites were born outside of Wisconsin, the percentage born in the state has increased during the past ten years. In fact, the natural growth of the nonwhite population now outweighs the increase due to in-migration.

The frequency of broken marriages and families among nonwhites greatly exceeds that among the white population. Although about one in 20 white families with children lacked a parent, such was the case for one in every five nonwhite families. This has obvious implications for family life among nonwhites. Dependency and other indicators of unmet need are higher in the Negro community than in the white community and reveal substantial social problem areas that require extensive social welfare services.

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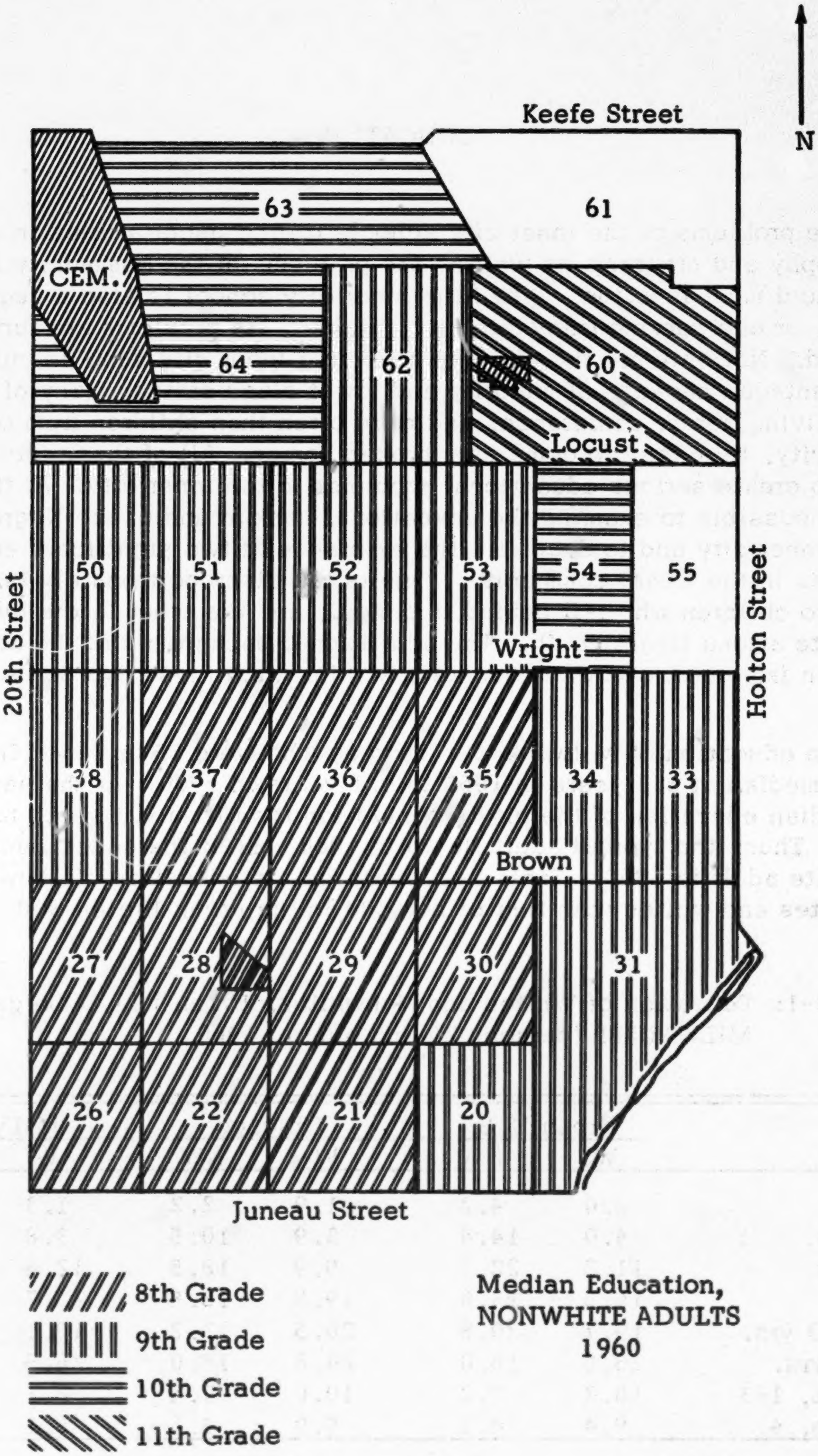
EDUCATION

The problems of the inner city schools reflect uncertainties in educational philosophy and programs as well as the problems of the community in which the school must function. When the inner city school is also a segregated school, or one serving many minority children, its problems are further compounded. Not only are the children attending inner city schools culturally disadvantaged because of minority and lower class status, many of them may be receiving public assistance, and more often than children from other parts of the city, they tend to come from broken homes. All of these factors conspire to create serious educational problems in the inner city. At this time it is only possible to examine the educational background of the Negro people in the inner city and to document the existence of two significant educational problems in the Negro community. One is the disproportionately large number of Negro children who fall behind in school, and the other is the high "dropout" rate among Negro youth. The educational background of the adults provides an important part of the context within which these two problems are found.

The education of Milwaukee's Negroes who were 25 and over increased from a median of 8.1 years in 1950 to 9.1 years in 1960. At the same time the median education of the city's population rose from 9.1 years to 10.4 years. Thus, the typical adult Negro in 1960 was at the educational level of the white adult in 1950. Table 2-1 compares the education of Milwaukee's nonwhites and whites with that of persons in the urban United States and with

Table 2-1: Education of Whites and Nonwhites, Urban U. S., Chicago, and MILWAUKEE (persons 25 and older), 1960

	Urban U. S.		Chicago		MILWAUKEE	
	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW
None	2.0	4.2	1.9	2.2	1.3	2.3
1-4 yrs.	4.0	14.4	3.9	10.5	3.8	9.8
5-7 yrs.	11.2	22.7	9.9	18.5	12.4	18.8
8 yrs.	16.6	13.6	19.8	16.5	22.7	17.9
HS, 1-3 yrs.	19.7	20.8	20.5	23.2	19.1	25.1
HS, 4 yrs.	26.8	16.0	24.8	18.0	26.5	17.6
College, 1-3	10.2	5.2	10.0	7.4	8.1	5.6
College, 4	9.4	4.1	9.0	3.6	6.1	2.7


N
Keefe Street
63
61
CEM.
64
62
60
Locust
50
51
52
53
54
55
Wright
20th Street
Holton Street
38
37
36
35
34
33
Brown
27
28
29
30
31
26
22
21
20
Juneau Street
8th Grade
9th Grade
10th Grade
11th Grade

Median Education,
NONWHITE ADULTS
1960

MAP 7

Chicago's nonwhites. Nonwhites in Milwaukee and Chicago had more education than most urban nonwhites, except that slightly fewer in both cities had completed college than was true nationally. The educational disadvantage under which nonwhites labor is evident in the national figures which reveal that 46.4 percent of urban whites, but only 25.3 percent of the urban nonwhites had completed 4 years of high school.[1] Comparable figures for Milwaukee were 40.7 percent for whites and 25.9 percent for nonwhites. Although white Milwaukeeans did not go quite as far in school as urban whites generally, substantially more of them had completed high school than had the nonwhites in the city.

The somewhat lower overall median education of nonwhites in Milwaukee is attributable to the fact that older nonwhites did not go as far in school as older whites and to the fact that younger nonwhites leave school before whites. Table 2-2 compares the median education of whites and nonwhites in Milwaukee County, which contains the city of Milwaukee, and in Cook County, which contains the city of Chicago. It was necessary to use county data because this educational data was not available for the cities.

Table 2-2: Median Education, by Age, Total Population and Nonwhites, Cook County (Chicago) and Milwaukee County (MILWAUKEE), 1960

	Cook County				MILWAUKEE COUNTY			
	Nonwhite		White		Nonwhite		White	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Total	9.4	10.0	10.7	10.7	9.2	10.1	10.9	11.2
14-24	10.2	10.7	10.8	11.3	10.2	10.7	11.2	11.9
25-29	11.2	11.6	12.4	12.3	10.7	10.9	12.5	12.3
30-34	10.6	11.1	12.3	12.2	9.7	9.8	12.4	12.3
35-44	10.0	10.3	12.0	12.0	9.2	8.5	12.2	12.2
45-54	8.5	8.7	10.3	10.2	8.2	7.7	10.3	10.4
55-64	7.6	8.1	8.8	8.8	6.8	5.7	8.7	8.7
65-74	6.7	7.1	8.2	8.3	4.9	5.5	8.2	8.3

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[1] Includes persons completing high school and attending college.

There is about one year's difference in the median education of whites and nonwhites in the Chicago area, until age thirty. Then the difference increases to about two years. In Milwaukee the difference is about a year until the middle 20's, then it increases to two years in the 30's and to three years or more in the late 30's. Chicago's nonwhites, especially the women, have one or two years more education than Milwaukee's nonwhites in their 30's and older.

Adults who cannot read and write at a fifth grade level tend to be "functional illiterates, " who cannot apply reading skills to problems in everyday life. Although persons who have not completed a fifth grade education may have acquired adequate reading ability, it is probable that many persons in this category would be virtually illiterate. Some persons who went beyond fifth grade may also be functional illiterates, but in order to get some idea of the extent of the problem locally, failure to go beyond the fourth grade was considered evidence of functional illiteracy. In 1960, there were many more Negroes than whites in this category, especially among older men. Table 2-3 compares the incidence of such illiteracy among white and Negro men in two age groups, mature younger men and men approaching retirement age. There was a marked decrease in functional illiteracy in the younger age group, regardless of race, but the rate among nonwhites continued to be considerably higher than among whites. The higher nonwhite rate may be attributable to inmigrants with less education, but it is evident that more nonwhite than white men probably are at a disadvantage in the labor market because they lack a basic skill.

Table 2-3: Percentage of Functional Illiterates Among Nonwhite and White Men in MILWAUKEE County, 1960

Age Group	Nonwhite	White
25-34	7.2	1.0
55-64	31.9	16.5

This discussion of the education of the nonwhites in the city serves as a background for an examination of one of the most crucial problems facing younger people, and particularly nonwhite younger people in our society: obtaining an adequate education. One facet of this problem is the high "dropout" or school-leaving rate among Negro children.

Without at least a high school education young people are ill prepared to compete successfully in a labor market that demands increasing academic and vocational preparation. The genesis of the dropout problem lies in the home, school, and general society. It cannot be discussed here. However, the magnitude of this problem in Milwaukee and its early start in school are evident in the following analysis.

FALLING BEHIND IN SCHOOL

A child who is "retarded" or "behind" in school is one who is not in the same grade as his age peers. This is not necessarily because of mental retardation. Many things can conspire to keep a child from being in a grade that is "normal" for his age. But a child who falls behind usually has some kind of learning problem warranting the attention of the school. When very many children fall behind the problem is no longer only an individual one, but a social problem leading to eventual dropouts and other problems. Among 11-year-old children in the city, 8.1 percent of all the boys and 4.3 percent of the girls were behind in age-grade placement, i.e., they were not in fifth or sixth grade.[2] Most children were in one of these two grades and 4 percent were in a higher grade, usually the seventh grade. Among the nonwhite children, however, 24.9 percent of the boys were one or more grades behind their age peers and so were 6.9 percent of the nonwhite girls.

Table 2-4 compares age-grade placements of nonwhite children with those of all children in Milwaukee schools, beginning with 8 year olds. It counts as behind in placement those children who are four years or less behind according to the age-grade placement table. It was assumed that children more than four years behind probably were retarded and that their problems were more fundamental than those of children left behind because of milder learning problems, inadequate social adjustment, and so forth.

The serious educational retardation existing among nonwhite children is obvious, and dramatically so among the boys. Until 9 years of age the nonwhite boys are about at the level of their peers, then the percentage of 10 and 11 year olds falling behind doubles and triples that of all age peers. Not as many nonwhite girls fall behind as do boys, but substantially more than all girls and more in several years than is found even among all the boys. If this table were adjusted to compare whites and nonwhites, the disparity between them would be even greater. In the case of 11 year olds, for example,

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[2] The following age-grade placement system was borrowed from Future Citizens All (1). It has some disadvantages, but its age intervals fit those of the census and most children in the Milwaukee schools fall into it: Age 6, through 1st grade; 7, 1st or 2nd; 8, 2nd or 3rd; 9, 3rd or 4th; 10, 4th or 5th; 11, 5th or 6th; 12, 6th or 7th; 13, 7th or 8th; 14, 8th or 9th; 15, 9th or 10th; 16, 10th or 11th grade.

Table 2-4: Percentage Behind in Age-Grade Placement, All Children and Nonwhite Children in MILWAUKEE, 1960

	All Children		Nonwhites	
Age	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
8	2.0	1.9	3.2	3.4
9	2.6	1.5	2.4	2.8
10	5.0	3.8	11.2	6.6
11	8.1	4.3	24.9	6.9
12	8.4	3.8	15.8	7.5
13	8.6	6.2	20.2	15.8
14	10.9	6.4	27.9	14.1
15	13.5	6.7	31.1	23.0
16	12.3	5.2	28.2	12.7

6.6 percent of the white boys were behind compared to 8.1 percent of all boys and 24.9 percent of the nonwhites. Because 93.9 percent of the nonwhites between 5 and 19 are Negroes, this really is equivalent to talking about Negro children. Even without this adjustment, however, the differences between the nonwhite children and other children are obvious and strongly suggest why so many Negro children do not complete school. An exceptionally large proportion of them drop behind long before they drop out. This, of course, merely documents the magnitude of the problem. Its origins must be sought elsewhere.

DROPOUTS

Although completing high school is often the criterion of preparation for entering the job market, it actually is only a crude index of adequate preparation because it says nothing about the quality of education. It is well known that the so-called "social promotion," whether formally or informally resorted to by the school, carries many through high school and presents them with a diploma attesting only to a period of residence in school.

In Slums and Suburbs, Conant questioned the appropriateness of the education of children in deprived areas (2). The completion of four years of inappropriate high school education will not adequately prepare someone for work life. In spite of such considerations, completing four years of high school is the best available measure of educational preparation for work life, so it is used in this study. Those who do not complete four years of high school are called dropouts and considered inadequately prepared to earn a living in today's society.

Compulsory school attendance laws keep 95.6 percent of all the 15-year-old boys and 92.7 percent of the 16 year olds in school. At age 17, however, 83.8 percent are still in school and at 18 there are only 55.7 percent in school. The situation for nonwhite boys is the same as for all boys until age 16. But only 70.6 percent of the 17 year olds remain in school as do 45.8 percent of the 18 year olds who should by then be completing high school. More nonwhite 17-year-old girls remain in school than nonwhite boys, but there are fewer 18-year-old girls in school than boys.

Speaking only about nonwhite youth, it would seem that given their high rate of school retardation, many of them would not graduate from high school. Among the 17-year-old nonwhite boys, for example, the 29.4 percent who were not in school had only 27.3 percent of their number complete four years of high school. The dropouts probably would be joined by many of the 38.8 percent of their companions who were one or more years behind in school.

White youths also leave school prematurely in many cases. Among all boys 17 and 18 years old, 29 percent had left school but this is less than the 40.4 percent of the nonwhites who left before the last year of high school.

The following analysis is limited to boys and young men between 16 and 24 years of age who had some experience in high school. For our purposes, dropouts are considered to be those who had entered high school but not completed four years. Table 2-5 shows the percentage of dropouts among all boys and nonwhite boys who ever entered high school. Beginning at age 17 the number of dropouts among nonwhites substantially exceeded those of all boys in the city. If the table were adjusted to compare whites and nonwhites, the differences would be even more marked.

Table 2-5: High School Dropouts Among MILWAUKEE Boys, 1960

Age	All	Nonwhite
16	1.6	2.4
17	9.2	16.2
18	16.7	29.2
19	21.3	35.7
20	21.3	38.5
21	23.9	46.9
22	24.3	43.3
23	23.9	41.1
24	21.0	32.6

Dropouts among men who had attended high school for at least a year were also higher among nonwhites. Table 2-6 shows that the rate for nonwhite men between 25 and 45 was much higher than that of the white men in the city. After age 45 the dropouts among whites increased substantially. Thus a pattern of leaving school before graduation is considerably more prevalent among the nonwhite men than it is found to be among all men in the city. This is especially true among men over 45, but even among the younger men whose children may be reaching the age of decision about continuing in school, the dropout rate is about 60 percent. If the child emulates a paternal model, there is an even chance that he can follow in the footsteps of a father who dropped out of school. All too frequently this seems to be what is happening to nonwhite youths in Milwaukee.

Table 2-6: High School Dropouts, Men
25 to 54 years, MILWAUKEE,
1960

Age	Whites	Nonwhites
25-29	33.6	60.2
30-34	39.5	60.0
35-44	38.1	58.0
45-54	52.8	57.2

ATTENDING COLLEGE

The goal of education is not necessarily a college degree but other things being equal, a Negro child should have the same chance to go to college as anyone else. The extent to which Negroes are able to attend college is a gauge of society's provision of equality of opportunity to all its members. The Milwaukee area has two large universities and several colleges. In 1960, there were 11,920 persons between the ages of 16 and 24 who were attending a college in the Milwaukee area and 2.2 percent of them were nonwhites. Some of these nonwhites were not Negroes and some of all the students were nonresidents of Milwaukee. Furthermore, some Milwaukee Negroes may have been attending colleges outside of the Milwaukee area. The available data do not permit adjustments to compensate for such things, so this is an approximation of the extent to which local Negroes may be obtaining higher education in local educational institutions.

Although women were a minority (46.6 percent) of all college students, they made up 55.6 percent of the nonwhites attending college. Of all the men in the city between 16 and 24, 15.7 percent were attending college and so were 11.3 percent of all the women. Another 7 percent of the men and 8.1 percent of the women in this age group had attended college but were no longer in school. Thus 22.7 percent of all men and 19.3 percent of all women either had attended or were attending college in 1960.

Among the nonwhites, 3.8 percent of the men and 4.9 percent of the women had attended college and 3.4 percent of the men and 3.3 percent of the women were attending college. This means that 7.2 percent of the nonwhite men and 8.2 percent of the nonwhite women had attended or were attending college. Among those now out of school, 13.2 percent of the nonwhites who started to college completed four years or more of college, compared to 29.5 percent of all the young people who had attended college.

Only one-third as many nonwhites attended college as did whites, and less than half as many nonwhites completed their college education. The fact that so many more nonwhites drop out of college is serious, especially when coupled with the fact that only 2.2 percent of those attending college in Milwaukee were nonwhites. The higher attrition among nonwhite college students, who are few to begin with, poses serious problems for the future of the Negro community.

SUMMARY

This survey of certain aspects of education in the Negro community found that the typical Negro adult in Milwaukee had attended school for about one and a half years less than the typical white. Although there was less functional illiteracy among younger Negro men than among older Negro men, their rate was appreciably higher than that of white men. In addition, fewer Negroes completed high school and relatively fewer attended college. Then a disproportionately large number of those who went to college failed to graduate.

Many more Negro children than white children lag behind their age peers in school and the dropout rate among Negro youths was substantially higher than that of white youths. The youthful dropouts are carrying out a pattern of school failure that is not uncommon among adult Negroes. Such things cannot fail to be reflected in attitudes toward education and eventually in the educational achievement of Negro youth. They point to serious problems that can affect the future development, not only of the Negro community but of the entire Milwaukee community.

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2-2: Milwaukee County: Table 103, PC(1)51D, Wisconsin, 1960.
Cook County: Table 103, PC(1)15D, Illinois, 1960.

2-3: Table 103, PC(1)51D, Wisconsin, 1960.

2-4: Table 101, PC(1)51D, Wisconsin, 1960.

2-5: Tables 101, 102, PC(1)51D, Wisconsin, 1960.

2-6: Table 103, PC(1)51D, Wisconsin, 1960.

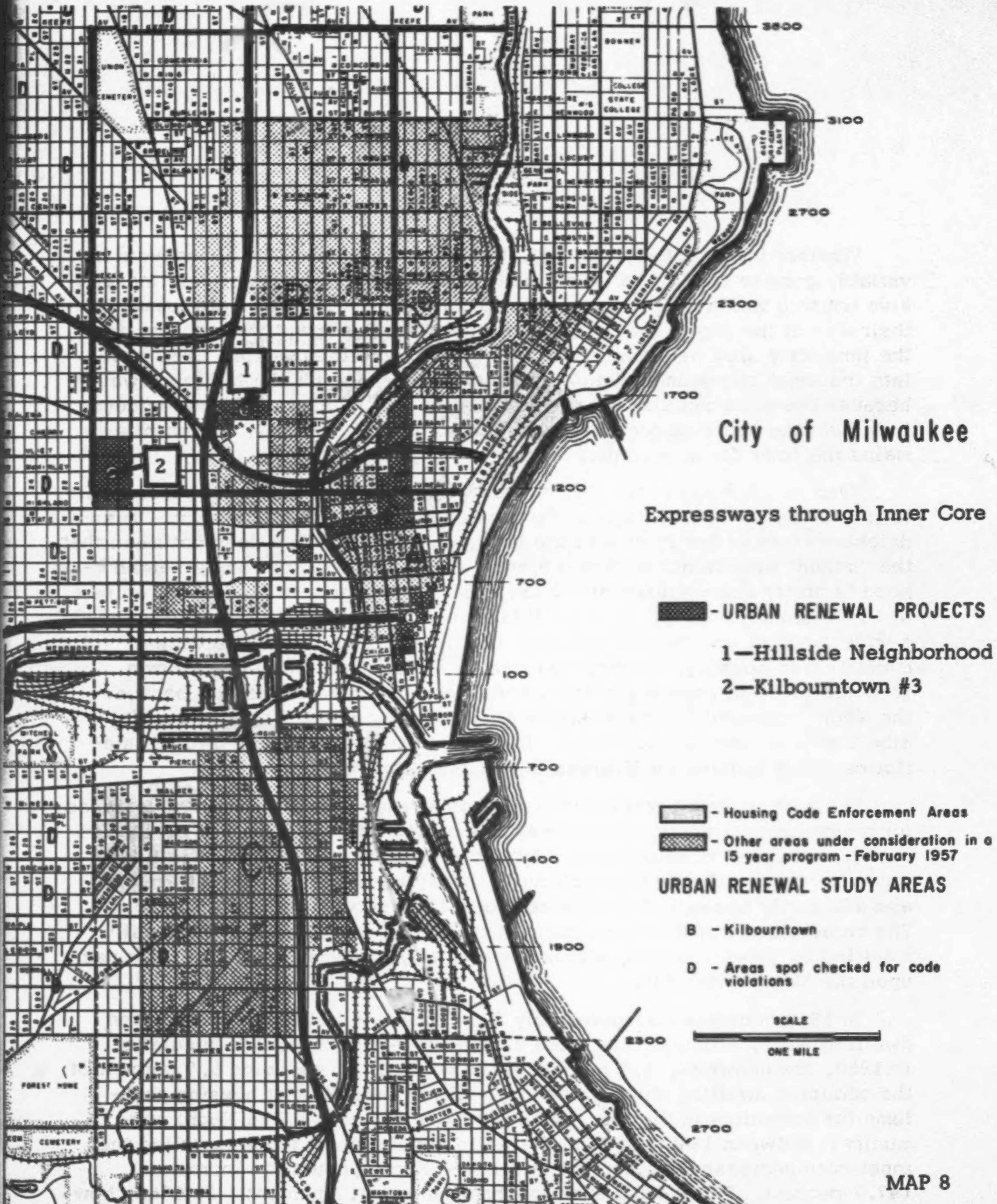
HOUSING

Whether immigrants or Negroes, the latest arrivals to our cities have invariably gone to live in the oldest parts of the city. There relatively inexpensive housing was available, and they found people who could help them find their way in the city. The typical pattern for the immigrant was to move into the inner city slum as a way station enroute to something better. The move into the inner city slum had an element of permanence for the Negro, however, because the slum can also be a ghetto. Although the area of Negro residence in Milwaukee has expanded into nonblighted parts of the city, the slum remains the home for a large part of the Negro community.

Even in the heart of the Negro residential area, not all of the population is Negro, and the percentage of Negroes decreases as one moves into "mixed" neighborhoods on the fringes of the Negro community. This does not mean that the "mixed" area is not a "Negro area." Once Negroes move in, a neighborhood is pretty much written off by the whites and begins to be considered part of the Negro community. It is for this reason that the Negro community shows a wide range of housing and people. It includes slums and quite decent middle class housing, unemployed manual laborers and professional men. They are found in greater proximity here than elsewhere in the city because the Negro community has the unique attribute of being able to hold people, albeit more or less involuntarily. This fact gives added meaning to the statistics about housing for Negroes in the inner core.

The area of Negro residence in 1960 is already part of history. Clearance for redevelopment and an expressway has changed the housing and population pattern in several census tracts. Adjustments have not been made in this study to compensate for these changes, partly because they are still in process and partly because the resources for a field survey were not available. The broad picture of the Negro community has not as yet been substantially modified by these changes, although eventually they may have a major impact upon the Negro community.

In 1950 nonwhites occupied only 2.6 percent of Milwaukee's occupied dwelling units, although they made up 3.4 percent of the city's population. In 1960, the nonwhite, 8.9 percent of the population, occupied 6.9 percent of the occupied dwelling units in the city. These facts hint at housing problems for nonwhites in the city. What was the situation in the Negro community? Between 1940 and 1950 the white population of the area called the inner core decreased 6.1 percent, while the Negro population increased 147.7 percent. The net increase for the area was 1.2 percent. By 1960, however, the area had suffered a net decrease of 11.6 percent, in spite of the


3800
3100
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1
2
A
B
C
D
UNION CEMETERY
FOREST HOME CEMETERY
STATE COLLEGE
SCALE
ONE MILE

City of Milwaukee

Expressways through Inner Core

▨ - **URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS**

1—Hillside Neighborhood

2—Kilbourntown #3

☐ - Housing Code Enforcement Areas

▨ - Other areas under consideration in a 15 year program - February 1957

URBAN RENEWAL STUDY AREAS

B - Kilbourntown

D - Areas spot checked for code violations

MAP 8

SEPTEMBER 1961 G. M. L.

fact that its Negro population had increased by 191.5 percent. This was because 60,270 whites left the area during the 1950's and were replaced by only 39,510 Negroes.

Although many whites left the inner core, there was little improvement in the housing situation for many Negroes. Between 1940 and 1950 the average number of persons in nonwhite occupied housing increased by 1.4 persons. The crowding decreased between 1950 and 1960, but the number of Negroes in a home remained appreciably higher than it was in 1940, and higher than it was for all residents of the area. The extent to which housing units are crowded, i.e., with more than one person per room, is a useful index of the adequacy of housing. There were 8.6 percent of all housing units in the city crowded in 1960, but 22.9 percent of nonwhite occupied units were crowded. This means that Negroes occupied more crowded housing than their white neighbors.

Table 3-1: Average Number of Persons per Housing Unit in Inner Core, MILWAUKEE

	Nonwhites*	All Residents
1940	3.4	3.3
1950	4.8	3.4
1960	4.1	3.0

*Persons per Nonwhite Housing Unit

The following are some details of the housing situation in the inner core since 1940 when it had 52,488 housing units for its 175,984 residents. Negroes made up 4.7 percent of the population of the core and occupied 4.7 percent of the housing units. In the four tracts with the highest concentration of Negroes, 50.8 percent of the population was Negro and occupied 55.8 percent of the tracts' housing units.

By 1950, there were 52,799 housing units in the area for a population of 178,140 persons. Negroes were 11.6 percent of the area's population and occupied 8.4 percent of its housing units. In the six tracts with the highest concentration of Negroes, 45.6 percent of the housing units had nonwhite occupants and 63.3 percent of the residents were nonwhite.

In 1960, 51,387 units housed 157,380 people, 38.2 percent of them Negroes who occupied 28.8 percent of the housing units. The decade witnessed a 2.7 percent loss in housing units in the area and a drop of 11.6 percent in its population. In the 24 tracts with substantial numbers of Negroes, they made up 67.5 percent of the population, although they occupied only 56 percent of the housing units and evidently experienced overcrowding.

Table 3-2: Selected Characteristics of Census Tracts: 1940, 1950, and 1960

	1960				1950				1940			
Census Tract	Percent Population Negro	Percent D. U.'s* Nonwhite	Persons Per Acre[1]	Persons Per D. U.[2]	Percent Population Negro	Percent D. U.'s Nonwhite	Persons Per Acre	Persons Per D. U.	Percent Population Negro	Percent D. U.'s Nonwhite	Persons Per Acre	Persons Per D. U.
19	12.18	9.82	13.7	2.4	16.43	17.97	25.3	4.5	10.61	13.30	23.7	3.6
20	89.50	85.22	19.6	3.7	79.29	81.13	33.2	4.3	66.73	83.33	21.7	4.2
21	83.06	72.53	34.1	3.6	68.71	59.03	46.4	4.2	49.04	48.81	38.5	3.4
22	60.64	49.40	39.3	3.3	7.02	4.28	46.0	3.9	.06	.55	47.4	3.3
23	6.19	3.81	66.9	2.0	.58	.50	84.2	2.8	.10	.20	75.1	2.3
25	6.67	5.52	58.4	2.4	.12	.23	63.2	2.8	.02	.11	62.6	2.7
26	51.29	40.27	53.9	3.5	.25	.29	55.7	3.4		.40	55.2	3.6
27	62.39	54.66	56.5	3.7	.73	.33	57.7	3.4		.11	58.7	3.5
28	77.97	62.80	46.2	3.2	6.46	2.75	49.3	3.3		.10	52.4	3.4
29	90.72	63.49	28.3	2.6	76.64	70.31	65.0	4.1	50.24	52.82	55.3	3.6
30	87.76	81.95	31.0	3.3	79.33	74.92	55.5	4.2	53.36	55.79	49.9	3.8
31	71.15	59.92	11.2	3.2	21.10	16.37	16.7	3.9	4.25	3.76	16.0	3.6
33	47.24	36.70	48.3	3.6	2.56	2.39	50.3	3.5	.12	.42	49.0	3.6
34	61.85	47.46	38.6	3.2	7.77	4.30	41.7	3.3	.03		39.3	3.2
35	87.28	71.39	39.9	3.2	41.20	33.17	49.8	3.7	9.54	8.78	49.5	3.4
36	94.00	84.70	54.1	3.5	46.73	38.36	64.3	4.0	7.28	7.17	58.9	3.8
37	78.55	69.12	42.5	3.7	1.85	1.41	43.9	3.4	.02	.08	45.7	3.7
38	65.18	52.87	42.9	3.6	.06	.18	43.0	3.3			43.0	3.7
39	8.21	6.68	38.6	3.1		.09	43.0	3.2		.09	47.2	3.4
40	21.49	16.57	49.5	3.3			51.6	3.4	.03		51.9	3.6
41	12.01	8.66	44.6	3.0	.03	.32	45.6	3.4			49.0	3.5
45	1.26	1.71	41.0	3.2			54.7	3.5			44.2	3.5
46	1.52	2.58	48.4	3.0	.03	.46	52.5	3.3			55.4	3.5
47	.89	.74	42.5	2.9	.03		47.1	3.2			48.3	3.3
48	.74	.77	34.5	2.9	.06		37.0	3.1			39.9	3.4

49	12.92	10.50	39.1	3.1	.06		40.5	3.2		.10	41.9	3.4
50	54.04	44.36	50.0	3.3	.06		48.9	3.1			52.4	3.5
51	66.89	55.97	33.6	3.4	.47	.54	36.4	3.2			38.9	3.5
52	84.24	73.97	47.3	3.7	17.92	9.34	50.2	3.8	.25	.88	47.0	3.6
53	73.74	62.60	37.3	3.5	8.98	6.25	38.7	3.4	.06	.09	37.2	3.4
54	52.51	40.98	31.7	3.0		.12	35.3	3.2		.26	35.7	3.4
55	13.91	10.31	38.0	3.1			39.2	3.3		.12	40.6	3.4
60	11.88	9.98	30.8	3.1	.07		33.2	3.4		.06	34.2	3.4
61	.95	1.00	36.8	3.0		.07	41.1	3.3			41.7	3.4
62	68.26	57.49	39.0	3.5	1.23	.78	39.7	3.4	.08	.27	38.5	3.4
63	40.03	32.11	37.5	3.2	.08		37.0	3.2		.06	38.4	3.4
64	59.12	47.73	28.0	3.4	.44	.35	27.2	3.3	.70	.36	27.1	3.4
65	.83	.78	35.5	3.0			38.9	3.2			40.2	3.5
66	.17	.21	35.2	3.0	.02	.14	36.8	3.2		.15	38.2	3.4
80	.21	.25	15.0	2.7	.05	.05	16.4	3.0		.06	16.2	3.3
81	2.90	2.20	24.4	2.6			26.4	3.0	.02	.07	26.8	3.2
82	6.85	4.48	21.4	2.8			27.6	3.2			28.2	3.4
83	.47	.56	5.8	2.6			5.5	3.2			5.8	3.4

*D. U. = dwelling unit.

[1] Median number of persons per acre.

[2] Median number of persons per dwelling unit.

CONDITION OF HOUSING

The 1960 census revealed that 87.8 percent of the housing units in Milwaukee were "sound," i.e., with no defects, or only slight defects which are normally corrected during regular maintenance. Another 10.5 percent were "deteriorating," i.e., having one or more defects that must be corrected if unit is to continue to provide safe and adequate shelter. "Dilapidated" housing has one or more critical defects and does not provide safe and adequate shelter. Such buildings need extensive repair or rebuilding. Only 1.7 percent of the homes in Milwaukee were in this condition in 1960.

Table 3-3: Condition of Housing, MILWAUKEE and Inner Core, 1960

	MILWAUKEE	Nonwhite Households	Core
Sound	87.8	59.3	67.9
Deteriorating	10.5	32.4	25.3
Dilapidated	1.7	8.3	6.8

The condition of the housing for nonwhites was not nearly as good as that for the general population. Almost one-third of the nonwhites lived in deteriorating homes and 8 percent were in dilapidated homes. As table 3-4 shows, slightly more than two-thirds of the homes in the inner core were sound, but one-fourth were deteriorating, twice as many as for the city in general. The incidence of deterioration was extremely high in certain tracts, reaching 50 percent of the homes in tract 33. In other tracts, as many as one-fifth or even one-third of the homes were substandard.

Table 3-4: Occupancy by Condition of Housing Units and Race of Occupants, Chicago and MILWAUKEE, 1960

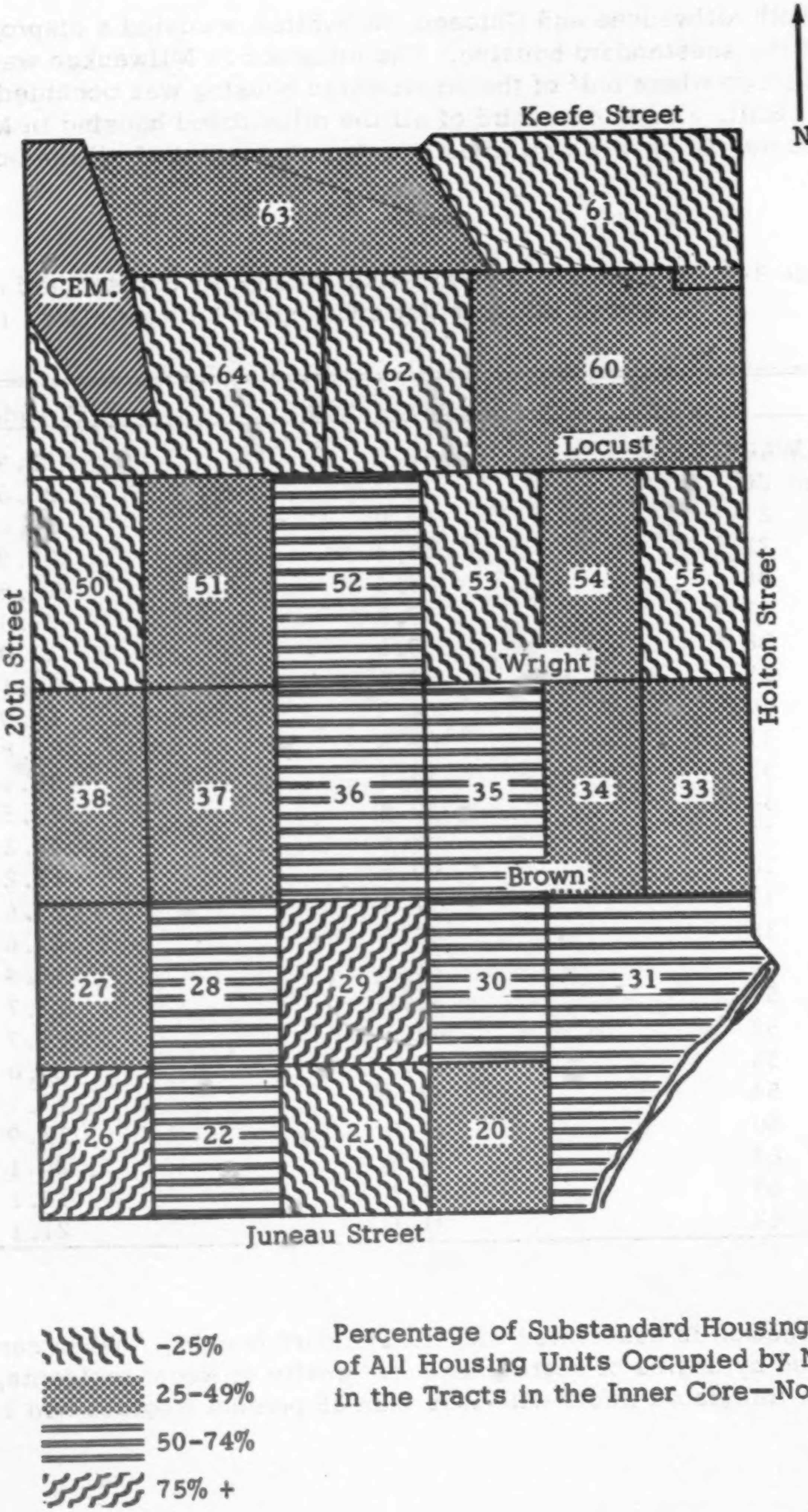
	Chicago		MILWAUKEE	
	Whites	Nonwhites	Whites	Nonwhites
Sound	84.3	15.7	95.6	4.4
Deteriorating	63.4	36.6	79.7	20.3
Dilapidated	50.7	49.3	68.4	31.6

In both Milwaukee and Chicago, nonwhites occupied a disproportionate share of the substandard housing. The situation in Milwaukee was not as bad as in Chicago where half of the deteriorated housing was occupied by nonwhites. Still, almost one-third of all the dilapidated housing in Milwaukee was occupied by people who lived in only 6.6 percent of all the housing in the city.

Table 3-5: Percentage of MILWAUKEE and CORE Substandard and Crowded Housing Units Occupied by Nonwhites, 1960

	% Substandard	% Crowded
MILWAUKEE	40.5	22.9
Tract 20	21.1	26.6
21	22.0	33.0
22	63.4	27.9
26	84.0	32.8
27	39.8	28.3
28	59.6	23.9
29	82.0	24.1
30	54.9	14.9
31	68.5	23.8
33	33.3	30.4
34	30.4	25.5
35	59.8	20.2
36	50.1	22.2
37	37.3	25.6
38	45.5	23.6
50	20.1	19.4
51	25.6	21.7
52	44.6	21.7
53	17.3	23.0
54	34.5	17.1
60	27.9	13.9
62	14.9	20.1
63	27.3	18.1
64	21.5	21.1

Segregation is associated with substandard housing. When census tracts are grouped by degree of segregation, or density of Negro residents, it is found that integrated tracts with less than 25 percent Negroes had 11.3 percent


N
Keefe Street
63
61
CEM.
64
62
60
Locust
50
51
52
53
54
55
Wright
20th Street
Holton Street
38
37
36
35
34
33
Brown
27
28
29
30
31
26
22
21
20
Juneau Street
-25%
25-49%
50-74%
75% +

Percentage of Substandard Housing Units of All Housing Units Occupied by Nonwhites in the Tracts in the Inner Core—North, 1960

MAP 9

substandard housing; transitional tracts with from 25 percent to 49 percent Negroes had 22.7 percent substandard housing; this rose to 29.4 percent in segregated areas with 50 percent to 74 percent Negroes; and to a high of 47.6 percent in highly segregated areas with more than 75 percent Negro residents.

One objection that some people have to Negroes moving into a neighborhood is that they allow housing to deteriorate. Although the foregoing discussion indicates that much of the housing occupied by Negroes is substandard, and that it is old housing, the claim that Negroes cause deterioration assumes a simple cause and effect relationship that is hard to prove. Census data does not readily lend itself to answering the problem, in part because definitions of housing conditions have changed from one census to another. In 1950, the census used a housing category called "no private bath or dilapidated." This combined an evaluation of the condition of the housing unit with a report on the existence of toilet and bath facilities. A unit can be dilapidated and have a bath, or not dilapidated and without a bath. Although this category is not directly comparable to those used in 1960, it gives a general impression of housing conditions and for our purposes will be equated with "deteriorating."

In 1950, 16.3 percent of the housing units in Milwaukee were dilapidated or without a bath. The percentage of such units in individual tracts appears in table 3-6. Tract 52, for example, had 40.8 percent of its homes at least deteriorating in 1960 when its population was 84.2 percent Negro. Negroes occupied 23.8 percent of its substandard homes. In 1950, when 17.9 percent of its population was Negro, 12.8 percent of its homes were dilapidated. Tract 51 had only .5 percent of its residents who were Negroes in 1950, and 9.2 percent of its dwellings were dilapidated. By 1960, when two-thirds of its people were Negro, 21.9 percent of its homes were deteriorating or worse, and two-thirds of them were occupied by Negroes.

At the very least, it can be said that there is no direct relationship between the extent of deterioration and the extent of Negro occupancy in an area. There was deterioration in areas of present Negro residence long before Negroes moved in. Although the deterioration may increase after Negroes move in, it does not do so in any direct ratio to Negro occupancy.

HOME OWNERSHIP

In 1940, 23.7 percent of all housing units occupied by nonwhites were owned by their occupant. The rate of home ownership among nonwhites increased to 38.2 percent by 1960. During the same period the rate of white ownership increased from 43.6 percent to 61.9 percent. In central cities where home ownership is somewhat less prevalent than elsewhere, the rate of white ownership was 50.3 percent in 1960 and that of nonwhites was 31.4 percent.

2

Table 3-6: The Condition of Housing in the Negro Community, 1960, 1950

		1960			1950*
	Tract	Sound	Deteriorating	Dilapidated	%Deteriorating
ORIGINAL CORE	20	65.3	25.1	9.6	45.9
	21	76.4	15.8	7.8	52.0
	22	40.9	36.7	22.3	26.8
	26	30.1	57.1	12.8	26.3
	27	69.4	25.9	4.6	26.8
	28	50.8	41.6	7.6	26.3
	29	23.9	41.6	34.5	45.3
	30	46.5	40.9	12.6	39.4
	31	38.4	50.2	11.3	27.1
	33	80.4	15.5	4.0	30.5
	34	72.5	24.5	3.0	25.5
	35	43.2	38.8	17.9	30.9
	36	49.2	37.9	12.9	31.4
	37	62.4	31.1	6.5	29.8
	38	63.2	27.6	9.2	14.7
	50	84.2	14.4	1.4	9.1
	51	78.1	20.2	1.7	9.2
	52	59.2	36.4	4.4	12.8
	53	85.2	13.2	1.5	23.2
	54	69.5	25.2	5.3	17.5
	55	87.1	10.2	2.7	12.6
	60	85.9	12.6	1.4	10.0
	61	90.4	9.2	.4	5.1
	62	89.2	10.7	.1	7.8
	63	84.1	14.8	1.1	5.6
	64	83.4	15.6	7.0	9.5
ADJACENT	39	82.6	16.4	1.0	20.9
	40	60.1	39.0	.8	20.5
	41	79.1	19.5	1.4	21.4
	45	85.4	13.1	1.5	13.9
	46	77.3	21.3	1.3	18.4
	47	85.8	13.8	.4	16.2
	48	78.8	18.9	2.3	7.6
	49	78.1	20.2	1.7	9.5
	65	96.6	3.1	.3	5.4
	66	92.3	6.8	.8	5.2
	80	98.0	1.9		1.6
	81	97.2	2.2	.6	2.6
	82	96.1	3.5	.4	3.5
	83	94.1	4.7	1.2	3.8

*Census Category "No Private Bath or Dilapidated"

Table 3-7: Ownership of Occupied Dwelling Units in Inner Core and Adjacent Census Tracts, MILWAUKEE, 1960

	White			Nonwhite		
Tract	No. HU's	Owner-Occupied HU's	% HU's Owner Occupied	No. HU's	Owner-Occupied HU's	% HU's Owner Occupied
19	640	18	2.8	79	5	6.3
20	22	4	18.2	346	10	2.9
21	147	23	15.6	602	47	7.8
22	370	111	30.0	451	71	15.7
23	2802	171	9.5	122	13	10.6
25	1607	186	11.6	102	10	9.8
26	499	168	33.7	395	59	15.0
27	341	148	43.4	452	78	17.2
28	259	97	37.4	574	87	15.2
29	100	18	18.0	553	76	13.7
30	41	13	31.7	545	80	14.7
31	151	48	31.8	302	44	14.6
33	523	203	38.8	345	90	26.1
34	366	88	24.0	411	80	19.5
35	227	50	22.0	831	198	23.8
36	137	62	45.2	1478	325	22.0
37	305	142	46.6	799	170	21.3
38	425	156	36.7	534	133	24.9
39	938	341	36.4	71	13	18.3
40	644	226	35.1	143	22	15.4
41	804	181	22.5	87	15	17.2
45	770	241	31.3	14	4	28.6
46	800	262	32.8	23	3	13.0
47	1643	594	36.2	13	4	30.8
48	1373	523	38.1	11	3	27.3
49	866	386	44.6	107	27	25.2
50	525	268	51.0	468	133	28.4
51	375	191	50.9	539	176	32.6
52	310	196	63.2	1046	390	37.3
53	326	155	47.5	643	213	33.1
54	394	127	32.2	316	79	25.0
55	724	296	40.9	89	32	36.0
60	1409	591	41.9	165	56	33.9
61	1331	534	40.1	14	4	28.6
62	421	229	54.4	637	209	32.8
63	1049	494	47.1	535	219	40.9
64	937	497	53.0	947	342	36.1
65	1352	651	48.2	11	5	45.4
66	1367	643	47.0	3	2	66.6
80	1903	977	51.3	5	4	80.0
81	1478	714	48.3	34	25	73.5
82	1166	581	49.8	57	36	63.2
83	1381	503	36.4	8	3	37.5

The percentage of home owners in an area is an indication of stability, because owners tend to move less often and may have greater interest in maintaining the physical and social well-being of their neighborhood. In 1960, 48.4 percent of all of Milwaukee's housing units were owner occupied, an increase from 42.3 percent in 1950.[1] Substantially fewer nonwhite home owners were found, however, since only 24.2 percent of their housing units were owner occupied. In the Negro community itself, 39.8 percent of the whites and 24.4 percent of the Negro homes were owned. In the old core, 32.3 percent of the homes were owner occupied; 41.9 percent in the case of whites and 24.3 percent in the case of Negroes.

In 1950, 27.2 percent of all units occupied by Negroes were owned by their occupants, and the same was true of 37.9 percent of those occupied by whites. In 1960, 50.2 percent of white units were owner occupied, and since 24.2 percent of the Negro occupied units were owner occupied in 1960, there had been a 3 percent drop in Negro home ownership, while white ownership increased. The influx of a large number of younger Negroes, presumably with less immediate purchasing power, may explain the relative decrease in home ownership among Negroes.

Table 3-7 shows the status of home ownership in the Negro community. In tracts on the periphery of the Negro community, a larger percentage of the relatively few Negro residents are home owners. In tracts on the fringe of the old core, home ownership also is higher than in the core area.

The percentage of home ownership among nonwhites in various other cities could not be examined extensively. However, as shown in table 3-8, more nonwhites in Milwaukee owned homes than did nonwhites in Chicago, but there

Table 3-8: Percentage of Owned Housing Units, White and Nonwhite Occupied, MILWAUKEE, Selected Cities, 1960

	Nonwhites	Whites	% of Negroes in Population
MILWAUKEE	24.2	47.5	8.4
Chicago	15.7	38.8	22.9
Denver	38.4	54.5	6.1

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[1] In 1960, the home ownership rate per 1000 white persons was 159.8. The rate for nonwhites was 58.6. In 1950 the white rate was 128.1; the nonwhite rate was 52.5.

Table 3-9: Units in Housing Structures, MILWAUKEE and Selected Tracts, 1960

		UNITS IN HOUSING STRUCTURES			
		1	2	3-4	5 plus
MILWAUKEE		42.9	36.2	9.2	15.3
ORIGINAL CORE	Tract 20	21.2	16.5	3.9	58.4
	21	8.7	31.2	40.0	20.1
	22	27.5	45.8	16.9	9.8
	26	57.3	33.7	7.5	1.5
	27	52.2	36.2	10.4	1.2
	28	25.6	43.8	13.7	17.0
	29	23.8	36.4	26.2	13.7
	30	16.5	37.6	22.4	23.4
	31	18.6	38.9	23.2	19.2
	33	29.8	52.9	7.9	9.4
	34	16.3	47.4	17.7	18.6
	35	50.4	32.4	10.5	6.7
	36	26.6	50.4	17.6	5.3
	37	17.2	55.2	24.1	3.4
	38	23.7	59.7	12.7	4.0
	50	24.6	66.2	8.6	.5
	51	58.4	52.1	9.1	.3
	52	28.0	58.7	12.6	.7
	53	38.3	42.2	16.3	3.1
	54	15.6	48.2	26.1	10.1
	55	35.8	55.8	5.9	2.4
	60	30.8	51.1	9.2	8.9
	61	40.0	45.2	7.1	7.7
	62	29.9	62.4	7.8	–
	63	31.3	56.5	5.8	6.4
	64	38.4	54.5	6.5	.5
ADJACENT	19	4.0	6.1	7.2	82.7
	23	4.2	9.2	4.3	82.4
	25	8.1	15.7	16.5	59.7
	39	52.2	38.8	4.9	4.1
	40	37.1	46.1	14.0	2.8
	41	24.3	36.8	19.4	19.4
	45	20.5	56.4	12.7	10.4
	46	23.7	55.2	16.4	4.7
	47	20.0	53.2	15.1	11.7
	48	28.4	53.6	12.7	5.2
	49	25.2	63.0	11.8	–
	65	23.8	68.5	6.3	1.4
	66	28.7	62.2	7.1	2.0
	80	32.9	52.9	5.8	8.4
	81	52.3	31.8	2.0	13.8
	82	40.6	45.2	4.1	10.1
	83	24.8	34.4	6.9	33.8

were fewer owners than in Denver. Chicago has a somewhat different housing pattern than Milwaukee and this may account for the smaller percentage of ownership by both its whites and nonwhites.

THE KIND OF HOUSING STRUCTURE

The number of units in housing structures furnishes a clue to the character of a place. Milwaukee is predominantly a city of one- and two-family homes, with 79.1 percent of its housing units found in either one- or two-unit structures. New York, on the other hand, has 54.1 percent of its housing units in structures with ten or more units, only 13.3 percent in single-family dwellings, and 14.4 percent in two-family homes or duplexes as they are known in Milwaukee. Chicago is known for its "two flats" and 19.5 percent of its units are in these two-family structures, 24 percent are single-family homes, and 25.6 percent are in larger multiple-dwelling buildings of ten or more units. A smaller city like Denver had 65.6 percent of its units in single family homes, 6.4 percent were duplexes, and 15.5 percent were buildings with ten or more units.

The type of housing structure in a neighborhood also influences its character. An area of single-family dwellings tends to be more stable than an area with multiple-dwelling units. Several tracts in the original core area had as many as four single-family homes for every ten housing structures, but it was more typical to have about 30 percent of the dwellings single-family homes. Although table 3-9 shows that one tract had 58 percent of its units in structures with five or more units, this was typical. A few tracts had as many as one-fifth of their units in larger, multiple dwellings but most had fewer than 10 percent in them. As elsewhere in the city, the duplex was common in many tracts in the Negro areas and often accounted for the majority of housing units in these areas. The existence of multiple dwellings provides opportunities for absentee ownership and where there is absentee ownership, property often is poorly maintained with consequent deterioration and the spread of blight.

AGE OF HOUSING

The age of housing has a bearing upon its condition, value and desirability as a place to live. Older homes may lack facilities, be expensive to heat and cost disproportionately more to repair and improve. This can lead to an owner's decisions about spending limited income that result in lessened maintenance and failure to provide the amenities associated with "good" middle class living and behavior.

In 1960, Milwaukee's nonwhites occupied 6.6 percent of the housing units in the city. Fewer nonwhite than white units were less than 20 years old in Milwaukee, although more nonwhites than whites lived in housing built after 1950 because of residence in public housing. More whites and nonwhites in Chicago occupied newer housing than did people in Milwaukee.

Table 3-10: Age of Housing Units, by Race of Occupants, Chicago and MILWAUKEE, 1960

	Chicago		MILWAUKEE	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
1950-60	10.9	7.1	2.2	3.7
1940-49	4.3	4.5	7.9	3.0
1939 or before	84.8	88.4	89.9	93.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

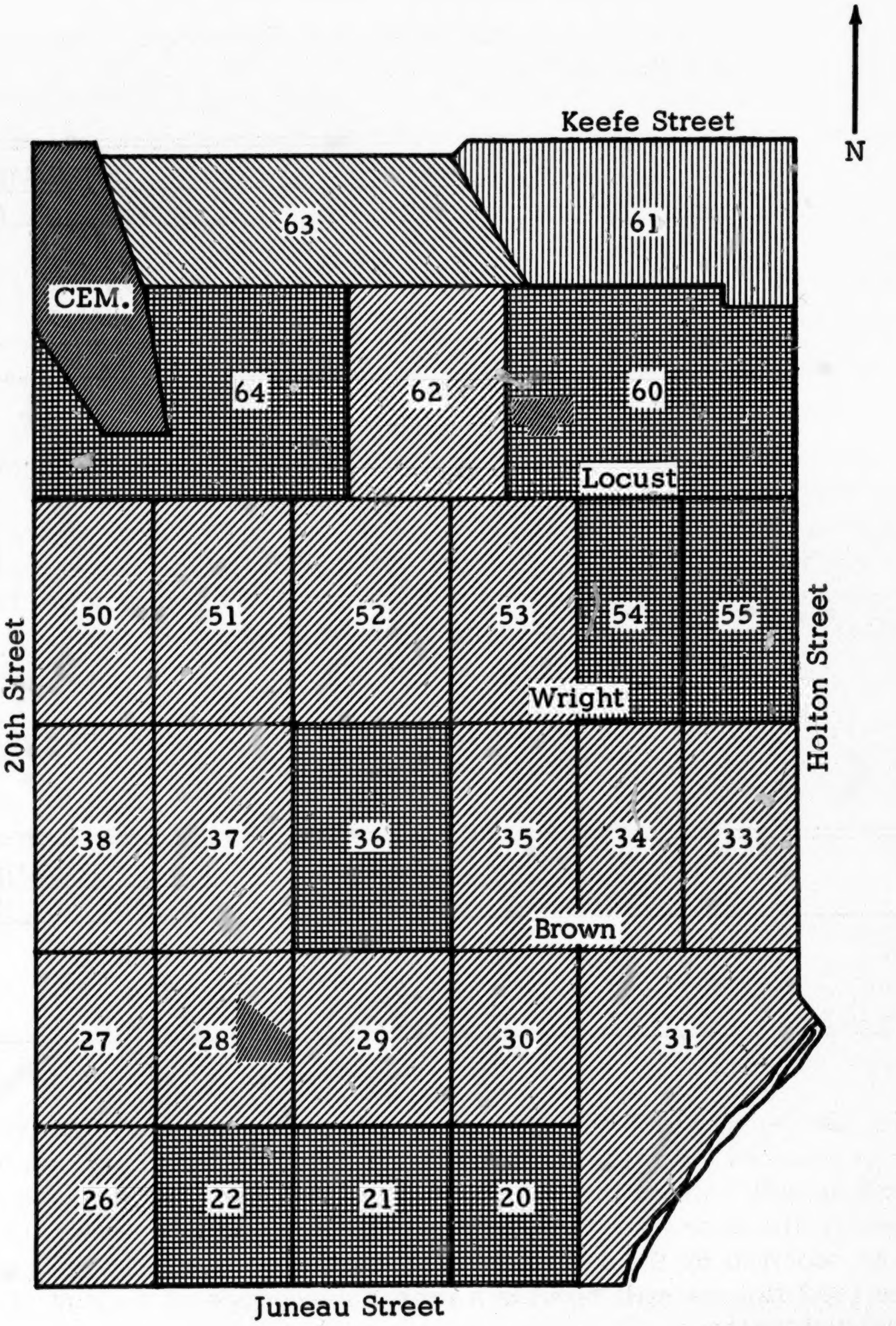
Table 3-11 shows the percentage of whites and nonwhites occupying units built in each construction period. Nonwhites had more than their share of older dwellings and fewer of the newer homes. In Chicago, where 19.2 percent of all housing units are occupied by nonwhites, the nonwhites lived in a proportionate share of the homes built before 1950 and in fewer of those built after 1950. The same was true of Milwaukee's nonwhites.

Table 3-11: Occupancy of Housing Units, by Age of Units and Race of Occupants, Chicago and MILWAUKEE, 1960

	Chicago		MILWAUKEE	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
1950-60	86.6	13.4	98.9	1.1
1940-50	80.3	19.7	97.4	2.6
1939 or before	80.2	19.8	91.4	8.6

The manner in which the 1960 census reported the age of housing units tended to obscure the fact that many dwellings date from long before 1940. The 1950 census carried the year of construction back to 1919. Because most buildings in the core were built before 1939, they actually were the same buildings reported by the 1950 census. For this reason, it has been assumed that the 1950 figures still provide a reasonable gauge of the age of homes in many census tracts.

Except for two tracts in which there is public housing, virtually all homes in the inner core and in the Negro community were built before 1939. The percentage built before that date seldom falls below 98 percent. The 1950 data reveals that most of the homes built before 1940 actually were built before 1919. Thus as a general rule, inner core housing was at least 40 years old


N
Keefe Street
63
61
CEM.
64
62
60
Locust
50
51
52
53
54
55
Wright
20th Street
Holton Street
38
37
36
35
34
33
Brown
27
28
29
30
31
26
22
21
20
Juneau Street

▨ 90% +

▦ 80-89%

▧ 70-79%

▥ 60-69%

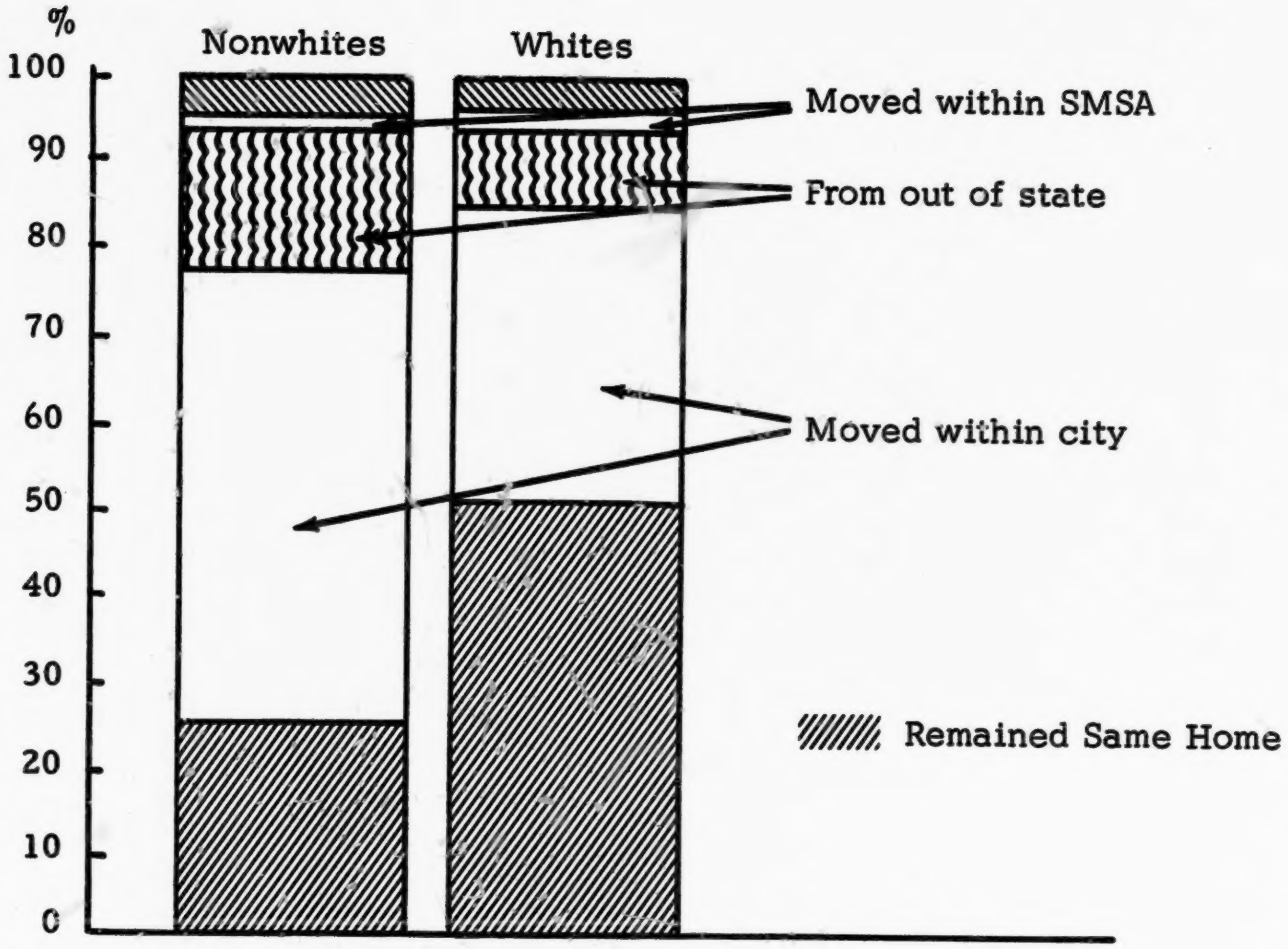
Age of Housing

Percentage of Homes Built Before 1919
in tracts in the Inner Core—North

MAP 10

Table 3-12: Year Housing Built, by Tract, Negro Community, MILWAUKEE, 1960 and 1950 Data.

Tract	N 1960	After 1950	'40/49	Before 1940	N 1950	After 1940	'30/39	'20/29	Before 1919
20	406	.9	59.8	39.2	560		40.2		59.8
21	830	43.6	.4	56.0	960			19.8	80.2
22	913		1.3	98.7	1000		1.0	11.5	87.5
26	976		.8	99.2	1010			1.5	98.5
27	827		.9	99.1	915		2.2	4.9	92.9
28	914	.4	1.8	97.8	910		2.3	4.9	92.8
29	871			100.0	1300	1.5	.4	5.0	93.1
30	665		2.0	98.0	870	2.9	.5	4.0	92.5
31	504		.8	99.2	620			1.7	98.3
33	940	.7	.8	98.4	975			4.6	95.4
34	866		1.1	98.9	900			4.5	95.5
35	1164		.4	99.6	1145		2.3	6.9	90.8
36	1745	.2	.7	99.1	1785		3.1	12.3	84.6
37	1157	.4	1.7	97.9	1255			9.9	90.1
38	1010		1.9	98.1	1080		.5	8.8	90.7
50	1055		.7	99.3	1090		2.0	5.9	93.1
51	963		.4	99.6	1095		.5	5.9	93.6
52	1414		.8	99.2	1520		.4	2.6	97.0
53	1026	.4	1.2	98.4	1120		.5	5.3	94.2
54	771		.9	99.1	790			11.4	88.6
55	862		.5	99.5	825		.7	10.3	89.0
60	1654	.9	.7	98.4	1660	.3	1.8	15.1	82.8
61	1395	.3	1.2	98.5	1370	.3	5.1	29.0	64.6
62	1108			100.0	1150		2.2	6.1	91.7
63	1666	.7	1.7	97.6	1705		4.2	21.9	73.9
64	1984	.4	1.2	98.4	1930		1.3	14.8	83.9
39	1062	.4		99.6	1130			4.9	95.1
40	863		.5	99.5	880	.6		2.8	96.6
41	1004			100.0	920		1.1	8.1	90.8
45	818			100.0	835			6.6	93.4
46	891			100.0	845			3.6	96.4
47	1757	.4	.9	98.6	1680			8.9	91.1
48	1434	.8	.5	98.6	1335		.7	10.5	88.8
49	1019		.4	99.6	830			2.5	97.5
65	1403		.3	99.7	1400		.4	13.9	85.7
66	1400	.2	1.1	98.7	1330	.8	1.9	25.9	71.4
80	1956	.5	6.5	93.0	1925	5.4	6.7	68.3	19.5
81	1545	3.7	2.4	93.9	1430		9.1	75.2	15.7
82	1271	2.8	2.5	94.7	1385	1.1	6.1	56.3	36.5
83	1428	22.6	2.3	75.1	1050	1.0	2.8	54.3	41.9



Residential Mobility, 1955 to 1960

CHART 4

and in many cases even older by the time of the 1960 census. The incidence of more deteriorated housing is especially high in the central tracts of the core which contain many of these older homes.

CHANGING HOMES

The mobility of whites and nonwhites was quite different, with the latter changing residence much more frequently. Between 1955 and 1960, three out of four nonwhites and half of the whites had changed homes. There were 52.6 percent of the nonwhites and 34.5 percent of the whites who changed their residence within the central city, and 3.4 percent of the whites and a few nonwhites had moved about within the metropolitan area. Almost twice as many nonwhites as whites had moved into the state since 1955. The higher mobility rate among nonwhites may be due to a search for better housing, as well as other reasons. It could have an adverse effect upon the children who are frequently moved about. It also does little to promote stability in relation to institutions like the church and school and to the community in general.

Table 3-13: Changes in Residence, Whites and Nonwhites, MILWAUKEE, 1960*

	Whites	Nonwhites
Same Home Since 1955	49.4	24.1
Moved within central city	34.5	52.6
Moved within SMSA	3.4	.6
From out of state	9.6	17.5
From abroad	1.4	.7
No answer	1.7	4.4

*persons 5 years and older

HOME VALUES AND RENTALS

The census asked home owners the price they would accept for their homes if not forced to sell. In most tracts in the core, home values were well below the city-wide median value of $15,100. Rents in the core, however, were close to or even above the city's median gross rental of $87.00. The gross rent includes the cost of utilities, rent, etc., if paid in addition to contract rent. It "...eliminates rent differentials which result from varying practices with respect to the inclusion of heat and utilities as part of the rental payment" (p. 7, Census Tracts PHC (1)-92). In tracts with sufficient numbers of nonwhite households, the census provides information about home values and rentals for nonwhites as well as for everyone in the tract. Table 3-14 shows that there were not always enough nonwhite owners to provide a

Table 3-14: Median Home Value and Monthly Gross Rentals, All Homes in Negro Community Tracts and Nonwhite Homes in Tracts with 100 or More Nonwhite Households, 1960

		All Units		Nonwhite Units	
		Value	Rental	Value	Rental
CITY		15100	87	10700	83
ORIGINAL CORE	Tract 20	*	52	*	*
	21	*	55	*	55
	22	7300	78	*	82
	26	7600	81	*	*
	27	8500	82	*	85
	28	8300	77	*	79
	29	8500	73	*	76
	30	10000	72	*	74
	31	8600	74	*	*
	33	8800	81	*	*
	34	9400	82	*	87
	35	7900	79	*	82
	36	9000	82	*	83
	37	8200	83	*	86
	38	11400	86	*	92
	50	8600	88	*	91
	51	9200	85	*	87
	52	9400	86	10600	87
	53	10400	84	*	91
	54	10800	84	*	*
	55	10300	91	*	*
	60	10500	87	*	*
	61	10900	86	*	*
	62	10500	86	*	91
	63	11500	89	*	97
	64	10200	92	11000	96
ADJACENT	19	*	51	*	*
	23	11800	65	*	*
	25	10400	75	*	*
	39	8600	83	*	*
	40	9000	74	*	*
	41	9000	76	*	*
	45	9000	82	*	*
	46	7900	76	*	*
	47	11700	82	*	*
	48	11100	84	*	*
	49	9400	85	*	*
	65	11100	86	*	*
	66	11800	88	*	*
	80	12900	94	*	*
	81	1300	93	*	*
	82	12600	88	*	*
	83	18500	95	*	*

*no figure given

median home value. The typical rent paid by nonwhites was at least a few dollars higher than that paid by other residents in the tract. This is in spite of the fact that about one in five dwellings in these tracts was crowded, and 40 percent were substandard.

SUMMARY

The Negro community contains housing that ranges from poor to good, but has much more than its share of older, overcrowded and deteriorating dwellings. In spite of this, rentals are comparable to those in the city in general. Even in less desirable areas, many Negroes own homes. Property values and taxes are relatively low in the core and this may encourage nonwhite ownership in objectively less desirable areas which also happen to be available to Negroes while more desirable areas are not.

TABLES

3-1: 1940: Table 6, Statistics for Census Tracts, 1940.
1950: Table 3, Census Tract Statistics, Milwaukee, 1950.
1960: Table H-1, PHC(1)-92, Census Tract, Milwaukee, 1960.

3-3: Tables H-1, H-3, Census Tracts, Milwaukee, 1960.

3-4: Tables H-1, H-3, Census Tracts, Milwaukee, 1960; Tables H-1, H-3, Census Tracts, PHC(1)-26, Chicago, 1960.

3-5: Table H-3, Census Tracts, Milwaukee, 1960.

3-6: Table H-1, Census Tracts, Milwaukee, 1960; Table 3, Census Tract Statistics, Milwaukee, 1950.

3-7: Table H-1, Census Tracts, Milwaukee, 1960.

3-8: Milwaukee: Table H-1, Census Tracts, Milwaukee, 1960.
Chicago: Table H-1, Census Tracts, Chicago, 1960.
Denver: Table H-1, Census Tracts, Denver, 1960.

3-9: Table H-1, Census Tracts, Milwaukee, 1960.

3-10: Table H-1, Census Tracts, Milwaukee, 1960; Table H-1, Census Tracts, Chicago, 1960.

3-11: Tables H-1, H-3, Census Tracts, Milwaukee, 1960; Tables H-1, H-3, Census Tracts, Chicago, 1960.

3-12: 1950, Table 3, Census Tract Statistics, 32, 1950. 1960, Table H-1, Census Tracts, 1960.

3-13: Tables P-1, P-4, Census Tracts, 1960.

3-14: Tables H-2, H-3, Census Tracts, 1960.

OCCUPATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT

Everyone entering the labor force is confronted with the problem of occupational choice, as well as with the problem of finding an actual job within a chosen occupation. Members of minorities have always found their occupational choices limited and only gradually have they been able to move into more desirable trades and professions. The possibility of movement up the job ladder into higher paying, higher prestige jobs is one of the things that made this an "open society" in which advancement was possible. Unlike the rigidly stratified, class societies of old Europe, a man was not born to be something; he could become whatever his talent and ambition permitted. This was the theory at least, and it was realized often enough in practice to become part of the American ethos.

Today the "openness" of American society has sharply decreased from what it once was. Class boundaries are solidifying. Managerial positions, for example, tend to go to sons of managers, and apprenticeships in the skilled trades to the sons of tradesmen. Among other handicaps to achieving equality of opportunity, the Negro is confronted with this aspect of stratification in American society. Although this did not develop to exclude the Negro any more than anyone else, it complicates the Negro's problem in securing good jobs, because he is a latecomer in the job market in relation to all but the less desirable unskilled and semiskilled jobs. As a latecomer, for example, he finds it difficult to get into unions. The craft unions claim that they are not discriminating but following a time-honored practice of giving preference to sons of members. Since they have few or no Negro members, there are no openings for Negroes.

Something else that complicates the problem of occupational choice for young Negroes is the tradition of exclusion from certain jobs. Word gets around that Negroes aren't wanted at certain plants, or in certain jobs, so rather than risk rebuff young Negroes look elsewhere. This is what happened in many clerical jobs. As will be seen later, clerical jobs for Negroes were few and far between in 1950 and even in 1960. It was not until the last few years that many firms began to accept Negroes, or to actively seek them for jobs. They now can find very few who meet reasonable job requirements. This should be no surprise because until recently there was little reason why a Negro girl, for example, should prepare to be a stenographer. Even today she does not have the same access to jobs that a white girl would have. Informally the word went out not to waste time. And now employers bewail the lack of qualified, ambitious young Negroes to fill jobs that are going begging for takers. A pattern of exclusion that developed for generations conditions people, especially those who are excluded. It will take more than a willingness to hire Negroes to bring them into the jobs they are capable of filling and needed in, if the economy is to grow and they are to enjoy the same access to jobs that everyone else enjoys.

Another factor complicating the employment problem for Negroes is the rapid growth of automation. As industry and business replace workers with complex machines, many of the jobs eliminated are those that were beginning jobs for the poorly skilled and inexperienced of years past. Abolishing these jobs makes it difficult for a Negro to get his foot into the door in business and industry. He confronts a different world of work than did his immigrant predecessors a generation or two ago.

THE LABOR FORCE

In 1960, nonwhite men made up 7.3 percent of the male civilian labor force in Milwaukee and nonwhite women made up 7.5 percent of the female labor force. This compares with 3 percent for nonwhite men and 2.3 percent for nonwhite women in 1950. A slightly larger percentage of the nonwhite women over 14 years of age (43.1 percent) were in the labor force in 1960 than there were white women (39 percent). In 1950, 37.4 percent of the nonwhite women and 35.6 percent of the white women were in the labor force. Apparently more nonwhite women seek employment and the percentage has increased more for nonwhites than for whites during the last decade.

Although 81.7 percent of all nonwhite men and 80.7 percent of all men over 14 in Milwaukee were reported in the labor force, these figures are somewhat deceptive. The social impact of nonparticipation in the labor force becomes clearer if one considers the relative age distribution of Negro and white men. In the age group 18 through 44, 8.9 percent of the nonwhite men and 5.5 percent of the white men were not in the labor force. In certain age groups the percentage was even higher. Among men between 20 and 24, for example, 8.8 percent of the white men and 11 percent of the nonwhite men were not in

Table 4-1: Labor Force Status, Men Between 18 and 44 (MILWAUKEE SMSA, 1960)

	In Labor Force		Not in Labor Force	
Age	Whites	Nonwhites	Whites	Nonwhites
18-19	71.2	71.6	28.8	28.4
20-24	91.2	89.1	8.8	10.9
25-29	93.5	92.4	6.5	7.6
30-34	97.8	92.9	2.2	7.1
35-39	97.8	94.4	2.2	5.6
40-44	96.8	90.8	3.2	9.2
TOTAL	94.5	91.1	5.5	8.9

the labor force. Although many things can conspire to keep individuals out of the labor force, the substantial number of men who are beyond school age and not working probably is partly explainable in terms of inability to compete effectively for jobs. Apparently more nonwhite men are not able to compete effectively in the labor market than are their white contemporaries.

There were 49.3 percent of the nonwhite women and 42.6 percent of the white women between the ages of 18 and 44 who were in the labor force. More younger white women than nonwhite women were workers, but after age 25 the situation was reversed and more nonwhite women sought employment. The decrease in the percentage of women in the labor force came at a time when the marriage rate increased sharply and remained high. This probably explains why the average white woman could withdraw from the labor force. Although there also was an increase in the number of married nonwhite women at about 25 years of age, and no corresponding increase in divorced or separated women, the number of nonwhite women in the labor force increased, probably for economic reasons. To substantiate this is the fact that although 18 percent of all the married women with their husbands in the home and with children under 6 years of age were in the labor force, 31.2 percent of the nonwhite women in the same situation were in the labor force.

Table 4-2: Labor Force Status, Women Between 18 and 44
(MILWAUKEE SMSA, 1960)

	In Labor Force		Not in Labor Force	
Age	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
18-19	59.9	46.6	40.1	53.4
20-24	50.0	45.6	50.0	54.4
25-29	34.9	45.1	65.1	54.9
30-34	35.4	49.0	64.6	51.0
35-39	39.9	54.2	60.1	45.8
40-44	47.1	60.0	52.9	40.0

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS

There were some changes in the occupational pattern for nonwhites in metropolitan Milwaukee between 1950 and 1960. In 1950, 60.8 percent of the white men and 17 percent of the nonwhite men, for example, had white-collar occupations; in 1960, 56.1 percent of the whites and 20.6 percent of the nonwhites had white-collar occupations.[1] The slight decrease in the percentage of white men in white-collar occupations could be due to the "no response" group which was much larger in 1960 than it was in 1950. There were many fewer nonwhite men in laborer jobs in 1960 than there were in 1950 and a few more nonwhites were in craftsmen and foremen jobs in 1960. The large number of nonwhites who did not answer the questions about occupation tends to obscure their job situation.

Table 4-3: Occupational Groups, Employed Persons, by Race and Sex, MILWAUKEE, 1950, 1960

	1950*				1960			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	White	NW	White	NW	White	NW	White	NW
Professional	9.3	1.8	11.4	2.5	9.9	3.0	10.3	6.3
Managerial	10.9	2.8	4.1	1.5	7.9	1.1	2.9	.4
Clerical	8.7	2.1	33.8	5.1	8.9	3.7	35.7	7.9
Sales	7.2	.5	10.2	.1	6.5	1.0	10.0	1.1
Craftsmen/foremen**	24.7	9.0	2.1	.1	22.9	11.8	1.5	.8
Operatives	25.4	38.5	20.2	29.9	26.8	39.1	16.8	23.9
Service Workers	5.6	10.6	12.6	28.5	6.0	8.8	14.1	31.6
Laborers	6.8	31.2	.8	5.0	6.0	18.3	.6	1.9
Private Household	-	-	3.4	23.3	-	.1	2.6	15.1
NR	.7	2.3	1.1	1.7	5.0	12.8	5.3	10.8

*1950 data for Milwaukee SMSA; 1960 for Milwaukee city.

**Craftsmen and foremen were considered white collar.

The percentage of nonwhites in professional jobs failed to increase during the 50's, probably because of the influx of lesser trained in-migrants. Instead of the 4.8 percent of the men in such jobs in 1950, there were 4.1 percent in 1960. And although the number in clerical and sales jobs increased slightly during the decade, nonwhite men tended to be in less skilled jobs in 1960, just as they were in 1950, although not to the extent they were in 1950. Two-thirds of the employed Negro men were in service, unskilled, and semiskilled jobs in 1960, compared to 80 percent in 1950. However, the difference may not be between 66 percent and 80 percent. The large percentage of nonresponses (12.8) to the question about occupation, may include many persons with low-level occupations. If this is the case, then as a group Milwaukee's Negroes registered few significant changes in occupational pattern during the 1950's.

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[1] Some occupational and employment data is available for the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) of Milwaukee and some for the city of Milwaukee. Certain analyses must be based upon data from the SMSA because data is available only for this larger area. Distinctions have been made between the two types of data. Note also that sometimes the labor force is mentioned and at other times employed persons. Not everyone in the labor force is currently employed and this accounts for several apparent discrepancies in tables.

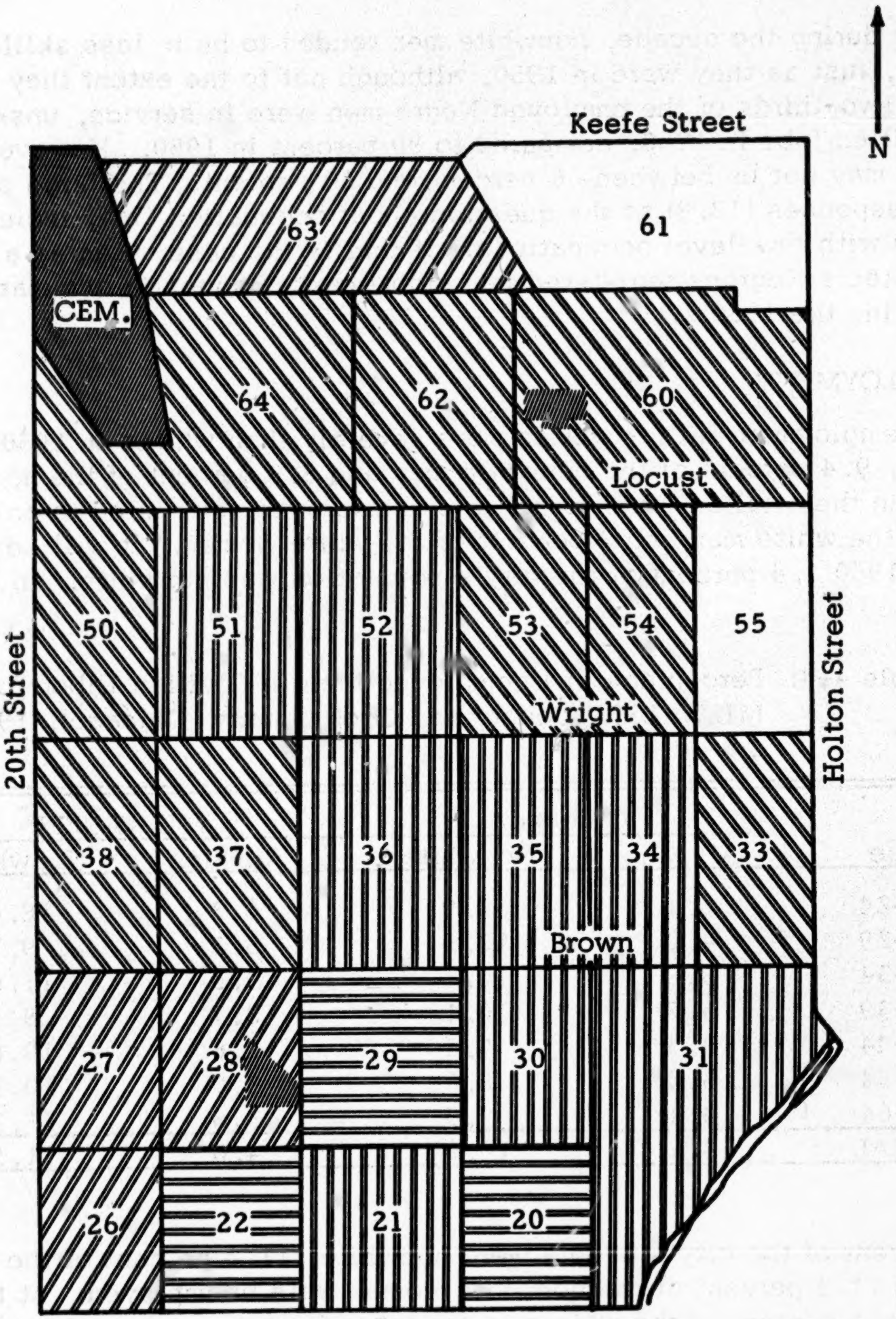
UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment hit nonwhites more severely than whites in 1950 and 1960. In 1950, 9.4 percent of the nonwhite men and 8.9 percent of the nonwhite women in the civilian labor force were unemployed, compared to only 2.7 percent of the white men and 2 percent of the white women. It will be recalled that in 1950 3.4 percent of the city's population was nonwhite. In 1960 when 8.9 percent of the city's people were nonwhite, 11.4 percent of the nonwhite men and 11.3 percent of the nonwhite women were unemployed. At the same time only 4 percent of the whites in the labor force were unemployed. The magnitude of the unemployment problem for nonwhites can also be seen from the fact that 18 percent of all the unemployed men and 18.5 percent of all unemployed women in the city were nonwhites.

Table 4-4: Percentage of Unemployed Men in Civilian Labor Force, MILWAUKEE County and Cook County (Chicago), 1960

	Chicago		MILWAUKEE	
Age	All Men	Nonwhite	All Men	Nonwhite
20-24	6.1	13.9	6.3	18.4
25-29	4.0	10.5	3.3	9.7
30-34	3.8	10.7	3.3	11.0
35-39	3.7	10.1	2.7	8.3
40-44	3.3	9.3	2.6	10.8
45-54	3.4	8.6	3.0	10.1
55-64	4.1	9.0	3.8	17.3
TOTAL	4.2	10.6	4.0	11.5

The higher unemployment rate for nonwhites in Milwaukee was not exceptional. In Cook County, Illinois, which contains the city of Chicago, 4.2 percent of all men in the civilian labor force were unemployed compared to 10.6 percent of the nonwhite men. Nationally the 1960 unemployment rate


N
Keefe Street
63
61
CEM.
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Locust
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Wright
20th Street
Holton Street
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Brown
27
28
29
30
31
26
22
21
20
Juneau Street

4-7% ▨

8-11% ▧

12-15% ▥

16-20% ▤

Percentage of Unemployed Nonwhite Men in Tracts in the Inner Core—North, 1960

MAP 11

Table 4-5: Unemployment Rates for White and Nonwhite Men in Labor Force 14 Years and Older, Selected Tracts, 1960

Tracts	White Rate	Nonwhite Rate	Tracts	White Rate	Nonwhite Rate
19	14.1	*	47	5.9	*
20	11.3	19.4	48	2.2	*
21	4.6	14.6	49	4.1	22.2
22	12.9	18.5	50	3.2	10.2
26	7.5	7.2	51	5.9	12.5
27	6.7	5.5	52	4.1	12.8
28	5.4	6.4	53	9.8	10.0
29	0	17.9	54	4.3	9.6
30	0	13.3	55	5.4	*
31	8.7	13.5	60	5.4	8.7
33	6.4	10.2	61	4.5	*
34	6.7	13.9	62	4.8	9.4
35	3.6	15.4	63	2.7	6.4
36	0	12.4	64	4.5	11.3
37	5.1	11.1	65	5.1	*
38	7.9	11.0	66	3.7	*
39	7.9	*	80	3.4	*
40	4.0	6.7	81	4.0	*
41	5.6	9.5	82	1.9	*
45	11.1	*	83	2.9	*
46	5.7	*			

*All men because of insufficient number of nonwhites.

for all nonwhite men was 8.7 percent compared to 4.7 percent for white men. In urban places the nonwhite rate was 9 percent; it was 4.6 percent for white men.

The impact of unemployment in tracts in the Negro community is evident in table 4-5. At a time when 4.6 percent of all men 14 years and older in the city were unemployed, in some tracts three or four times as many nonwhite men were unemployed. The rate was particularly high in heavily Negro tracts in which Negro men would constitute the bulk of the male population, and of the unemployed.

JOBS IN INDUSTRIES

The context for the following discussion of employment is the industry within which the individual finds a job. During the 1950's, the number of employed men age 14 and older in Milwaukee's labor force increased by 18.7 percent. There was some redistribution of the labor force as certain industries declined and others increased in size. How did nonwhites fit into this employment picture? Industries employing substantial numbers of persons were examined to discover the racial composition of their work force and to find out whether there had been any change in employment patterns during the 1950's.

In 1950 the construction industry, for example, employed 6.9 percent of the employed Negro men in the Milwaukee area. By 1960 6.5 percent of the employed white men and 4.9 percent of the employed nonwhite men had jobs in construction work. Between 1950 and 1960 the number of Negro men in the construction industry increased 38.2 percent, while whites increased by 10.4 percent. Although there was a decline in the percentage of Negroes employed in construction, proportionately more Negroes than whites had been added to its work force in the intervening ten years.

During the 1950's the percentage of Negro men in the employed work force increased from 2.3 percent to 4 percent. If some kind of random distribution of workers by race is assumed, then the construction industry in which 2 percent of the workers were Negroes in 1950 and 3 percent in 1960, had slightly fewer Negroes than might be expected in both years. On the other hand, the primary iron and steel industry employed 12.1 percent of the Negro men working in 1950 and 13.8 percent in 1960. During the decade it increased the number of its white employees by 16 percent and the number of Negroes by 33 percent, so that while 10.8 percent of its men employees were Negroes in 1950, by 1960 12.1 percent were Negroes. Negroes might be said to be overrepresented in this industry. Some explanation of this is found when one examines the pattern of Negro occupations. Many Negroes are found in the harder, dirtier jobs traditionally open to newcomers in basic industries.

The electrical machinery industry employed 4.2 percent of the white men and six-tenths of one percent of the Negro men in the Milwaukee area in 1950; by 1960 they employed 7.9 percent of the white men and 5.2 percent of the Negro men who were working in the area. In ten years this industry increased the number of its men employees by 130.4 percent. The number of whites had increased by 125.2 percent and the number of Negroes had increased 16 times. A few other industries had the same dramatic increase in Negro employment, but many did not show any appreciable change in employment patterns.

In the printing and publishing industry, which employed almost 9500 men in 1960, only 51 were Negroes. In 1950 Negro men made up two-tenths of one percent of the employed men in that industry; by 1960 they made up five-tenths of one percent of its men employees. During the 1950's this industry added 36.8 percent more men to its work force, but continued to have a minimal

Table 4-6: Negro Men as Percentage of All Employed Men, by Selected Divisions of Industries, 1950 and 1960 (men age 14 and older) MILWAUKEE SMSA

	1950			1960		
	White	Negro	Negro As % of All	White	Negro	Negro As % of All
TOTALS	254573	6048	2.4	302170	12555	4.0
Construction	17900	372	2.2	19764	602	3.0
Primary Iron-Steel	8748	1061	10.8	10175	1411	12.2
Fabricated Metal	10333	191	1.8	10177	225	2.2
Machinery (non-elect.)	36449	710	1.9	35212	858	2.4
Elec. Machinery, Equip.	10593	36	.3	23853	632	.6
Food Processing	14188	404	2.8	14751	490	3.2
Motor Veh. and Equip.	10712	545	4.8	15950	2014	11.2
Paper Products	2603	38	1.4	2901	120	4.0
Printing-Publishing	6905	14	.2	9421	51	.5
Railroad-Railway Express	7016	183	2.6	4937	150	3.0
Street Railway and Bus	2497	19	.8	1997	31	1.5
Trucking-Warehousing	4605	30	.6	5921	46	.8
Telecommunications	2113	2	.1	2740	13	.5
Elec. and Gas Utilities	3631	20	.6	3762	28	.7
Water Supply, etc.	1826	36	1.9	2086	229	9.9
Food, Dairy Products	6917	46	.7	6906	90	1.3
Retail Stores	7059	88	1.3	7953	191	2.4
Motor Veh. Retailing	2504	64	2.5	3542	259	6.8
Eating and Drinking Pl.	5454	147	.6	5293	237	4.3
Banking	1745	2	.1	2547	4	.2
Insurance, Real Estate	5597	22	.4	6868	29	.4
Business-Repair Service	7076	171	2.4	7635	322	4.1
Hotels, Lodging	1107	69	5.9	905	61	6.3
Laundries, dry cleaning	1669	123	6.9	1301	159	10.9
Entertainment-Recreation	2343	42	1.8	1965	64	3.2
Professional and Related						
Medical	4025	105	2.6	4668	333	6.7
Education	3741	18	.5	5451	102	1.8
Welfare, Religious	1981	41	2.0	3045	94	3.0
Legal, Engr., Misc.	1912	9	.5	3595	24	.7
Public Administration						
Postal Service	2633	34	1.3	3040	203	6.3
Federal Administration	1799	22	1.2	1399	47	7.4
State and Local	6507	63	1.0	9265	286	3.0

representation of Negroes. Trucking and warehousing was another industry that employed only six-tenths of one percent Negroes in its 1950 work force and about eight-tenths of one percent in 1960. In the meantime the work force had expanded by 28.7 percent.

Banking had only 2 Negroes in 1950, and 4 out of a total of 2551 men in 1960. The telecommunications industry employed 2 Negro men in 1950 and 13 in 1960. Meanwhile it added 30.2 percent to the number of its men employees, which totaled 2753. The electric and gas utilities increased the number of their Negro men employees from 20 to 28 during the decade, thus bringing the number of Negro men on their payroll to seven-tenths of one percent of the 3790 men in their work force.

All kinds of wholesale and retail trade accounted for 17.9 percent of the employed white men and 10.5 percent of the Negro men in 1950. In 1960, 15.4 percent of the white men and 11.2 percent of the Negro men were employed by this industry. Negroes accounted for 44.5 percent of the men added by the industry during the decade. Within the industry there were differentials in employment practices. Eating and drinking places declined slightly in their work force between 1950 and 1960, but increased the percentage of Negro men employees by 61 percent to a total of 237, or 1.9 percent of the employed Negro men in the area. They also employed 1.7 percent of the white men in the area. Retail stores of various kinds employed 2.6 percent of the white men and 1.6 percent of the Negro men in 1960. During the decade the number of their white employees increased by 12.7 percent and the number of Negroes, 117 percent. Food stores employed 2.3 percent of the white men and seven-tenths of one percent of the Negro men who were employed in 1960. The number of Negroes increased from 46 to 90 during the 1950's while the total number of men employees remained static.

OCCUPATIONS

The discussion of employment now shifts from jobs within industries to specific occupations. The adequacy of Negro representation in various occupations is not dependent upon some kind of quota. Although 4.7 percent of the employed men in the Milwaukee area were Negroes in 1960, they might be overrepresented or underrepresented in certain jobs for valid reasons. But if we assume that it is primarily economics, individual ability and chance that governs the distribution of workers in the local work force, then there should be some approximation of a random distribution of Negroes in occupational groups in the local labor market. If Negroes constitute only a fraction of one percent of the workers in many occupations, reasons for this must be sought.

In some areas Negro men were better represented than in others. More than 8 percent of the taxi drivers, for example, were Negroes and so were 10 percent of the filers, grinders, and metal polishers, 37 percent of the furnacemen and smelters, and 11 percent of the welders and flame cutters. There were 3.2 percent of the 11,950 truck drivers and deliverymen who were Negro

Table 4-7: Negro Men as Percentage of All Employed Men in Selected Occupations, Chicago and MILWAUKEE, SMSA

	Chicago			MILWAUKEE		
	All	Negro	% Negro	All	Negro	% Negro
TOTALS	1660364	183077	11.0	315610	12555	4.7
Accountants-Auditors	22685	198	.9	3149	5	.1
Architects	1592	9	.6	250	–	–
Dentists	3795	91	2.4	745	–	–
Pharmacists	3699	152	4.1	571	3	.5
Physicians	8784	264	3.0	1496	28	1.9
Social Welfare Workers	2396	411	17.1	507	31	6.1
Teachers (elem., sec.)	10737	907	8.4	2790	47	1.7
Bookkeepers	4782	97	2.0	754	14	1.8
Mail Carriers	8036	2193	27.3	1452	44	3.0
Sales Clerks, Retail	39973	1555	3.9	7390	68	.9
Bakers	4463	448	10.0	945	8	.8
Cabinet-Pattern Makers	4696	89	1.9	1625	3	.2
Carpenters	22239	603	2.7	3944	38	.9
Compositers-Typesetters	10032	315	3.1	1279	–	–
Electricians	14050	322	2.3	2659	11	.4
Foremen	50218	1219	2.4	10877	32	.3
Linemen-Servicemen	9907	184	1.8	1581	12	.7
Locomotive Engineers	2416	4	.2	341	–	–
Locomotive Firemen	1553	21	1.3	209	7	3.3
Machinists, Job Setters	29041	1059	3.6	7884	97	12.3
Masons	8525	471	5.5	1745	13	.7
Molders, Metal	2120	672	31.7	1074	332	30.9
Painters	13986	1310	9.4	2361	50	2.1
Plasterers, Cement Fin.	3550	493	13.9	655	38	5.8
Plumbers	11240	270	2.4	1975	17	.8
Printing Crafts	11742	252	2.1	1656	8	.5
Shoemakers-Repairs	1231	141	11.4	195	12	6.1
Stationary Engineers	14172	350	2.5	2724	20	.7
Sheet Metal Workers	5969	48	.8	1442	4	.2
Toolmakers, Die Makers	12794	189	1.5	3001	16	.5
Assemblers	17219	1579	9.2	7734	366	.5
Bus Drivers	8461	2246	26.5	1493	12	.8
Metal Filers Guides	7646	935	12.2	2222	228	10.3
Checkers, Inspectors	14915	1000	6.7	4374	96	2.2
Furnace, Smeltermen	2540	935	36.8	498	183	36.7
Meat Cutters	8664	600	6.9	1216	30	2.5
Cab Drivers	9321	2288	24.5	679	58	8.5
Truck Drivers, Deliverymen	63956	5645	8.8	11950	386	3.2
Welders, Flame Cutters	13462	1756	13.0	6149	718	11.7
Barbers	5657	695	12.3	991	30	3.0
Policemen, Sheriffs	14130	1319	9.3	2324	9	.4
Firemen	4790	210	4.4	1298	13	1.0
Laborers	97519	26175	26.8	18565	2344	12.6

and so were 2 percent of the checkers and inspectors in manufacturing plants in the metropolitan area. One-third of the 1074 metal molders and 239 of the 1694 cranemen, derrick men and hoistmen were Negroes, too. Three percent of the barbers and 4 percent of the waiters, bartenders and counter workers were Negroes, and so were 3 percent of the mail carriers.

Negro men also were well represented as laborers in construction, making up 12 percent of all workers in that category. In fact, 12.6 percent of all laborers in the area were Negroes. Such an overrepresentation is to be expected in jobs that require little skill. But Negro men were less well represented in other kinds of jobs. Only 1.7 percent of the 2324 law enforcement officers in the area were Negroes, as were only one percent of the firemen. There were 12 Negro bus drivers among the 1493 bus drivers in the area, and 30 of the 1216 meat cutters were Negroes.

Employment of Negroes in some of the skilled trades in metropolitan Milwaukee also was sketchy in 1960. Only 8 or the 945 bakers and 38 of the 3944 carpenters were Negroes. Three of the 1625 cabinet makers and 11 of the 2659 electricians in the area were Negroes, and so were 50 of the 2361 painters. Proportionately more of the plasterers and cement finishers were Negroes, 38 out of 655, but there were only 17 Negro plumbers among the 1975 plumbers in the area. Even fewer Negroes were tool and die makers, 16 out of the 3001 men with such jobs, while 13 of the 1745 masons were Negroes.

Sheet metal work was virtually closed to Negroes since only 4 of the 1442 men so employed were Negroes. Although there were quite a few stationary engineers, 2724 in all, only 20 Negroes were among them. The utilities and other employers of linemen and servicemen for telephone, telegraph, and power company work had 1581 men doing this work, 12 of whom were Negroes. In the printing trades which employed 1279 typesetters and compositers, no Negroes held these jobs and they held only 8 of the 1656 other skilled printing jobs in the industry.

Negro men did little better in white-collar occupations. Less than 2 percent of the male clerical workers were Negroes and they held only a fraction of one percent of the managerial jobs in the area. And although 7390 men were employed in retail sales, only 68 were Negroes. In the entire professional and technical category, less than one percent of the men so employed were Negroes.

The employed Negro man was less often represented in some occupations in the Milwaukee area than he was in the Chicago area. Table 4-7 compares the percentage of Negro men in selected occupations in the two areas. In the Chicago area Negroes made up 11 percent of all the employed men, and in the Milwaukee area they were 4.7 percent of the employed men. Assuming that Negro men could be represented in proportion to their numbers in the overall employed work force, then in Milwaukee, about one-fifth of the expected number of retail sales clerks were Negroes, while in Chicago the figure was one-third. One-sixth as many Negroes in Chicago were cabinet makers as might be expected, compared to one-twentieth in Milwaukee. Twelve times as many Milwaukee Negroes could be electricians before any quota would be exceeded, compared to the possibility of a fivefold increase in the Chicago area. Only one-fifth as many Negroes were carpenters in Milwaukee as might be, while in Chicago about one-fourth as many were carpenters as might be expected if Negroes were represented in proportion to their numbers.

THE OCCUPATIONS OF NEGRO WOMEN

The job situation for Negro women in the Milwaukee area was not very different from that of the Negro men. One percent of the 53, 953 women in clerical jobs in the Milwaukee area were Negroes. Only 88 of the 4444 typists were Negroes, and so were 1. 5 percent of the telephone operators, less than 1 percent of the stenographers, only 46 of the 9721 secretaries and 16 of the 4970 bookkeepers in the area. In retail trade, 66 of the 13, 283 women sales clerks were Negroes.

There were 129 Negro professional nurses among the 4268 so employed, but none of the 227 student professional nurses were Negroes, nor were there any Negro women among the 344 librarians. Ten percent of the 178 dietitians and nutritionists were Negroes and so were 10 percent of the social, welfare, and recreational workers and 2. 3 percent of the teachers in the area.

Among the operatives, 7. 2 percent were Negroes and so were 20 percent of the private household workers. The same was true of 10. 3 percent of the service workers. Negro women held 24. 6 percent of the 2827 hospital and other institutional attendants jobs and made up 14. 6 percent of the practical nurses and 3. 6 percent of the hairdressers and cosmetologists.

Except in service jobs and less skilled jobs as operatives, Negro women were not represented in proportion to their number in the work force. Even in the operative category, only 2 percent of the assemblers and 2 percent of the dressmakers and seamstresses were Negroes. The higher percentage of operatives is partly attributable to the fact that one-third of the laundry and dry cleaning operatives were Negroes and they happened to make up about one-third of all the Negro women who were operatives.

INCOME

Income is closely related to employment so some income information is reported here. Milwaukee's nonwhite families had a median income of $4842 in 1959, compared to a median income of $6664 for all families. In 1949 the typical nonwhite family received 61 percent as much income as all families. Although the income gap narrowed in ten years, in 1959 the nonwhite families received only 72. 9 percent as much as all families in the city.

In all of the husband and wife families in the metropolitan area in which only the husband was employed, the median family income was $6912. When both husband and wife worked, the median joint income was $8149. When only the husband in a nonwhite family worked, the median income was $4809 a year; when the wife also worked their income was $6470. There were 58.3 percent of all husband and wife families in which the husband alone worked, compared to 48.7 percent of the nonwhite families. Employed wives were more common in nonwhite than in white families and they helped materially in bringing up the median family income of nonwhites.

A few more white families than nonwhite families in the Milwaukee area had only one wage earner, but both whites and nonwhites had 47 percent of their families with two or more employed members of the family. These could be husband and wife or children. The nonwhite families, however, had more families without a wage earner.

Table 4-8: Earners in Families, MILWAUKEE, SMSA, 1960

	All	Nonwhite	White
1	46.2	41.1	46.5
2	37.4	38.7	37.2
3	10.4	9.5	10.4
None	5.9	10.7	5.8

Nonwhite families with one wage earner had a median annual income of $4089, while all families with one earner had an income of $6312. Nonwhite families with two earners made $6139 in 1960, compared to $7924 for all families with two wage earners. Those nonwhite families with three or more earners made $8514 while comparable white families made $10,852. The differences in incomes are attributable to different occupational patterns and to other factors which hamper Negroes in the employment market.

SUMMARY

This examination of the pattern of Negro employment in the Milwaukee metropolitan area shows that there are numerous jobs with only a token representation of Negroes. This is found not only of specific occupations but also of industries. The pattern of underrepresentation, especially in skilled and semiskilled jobs, is too general to be explainable as accidental, although it may not be the product of conscious discrimination. Although it is true that many Negro men and women are more recent arrivals in the metropolitan area, that they may have brought limited work skills with them, and that their educational background may impose limitations upon occupational advancement, it is surprising that so few Negroes were found in jobs with public utilities, for example, or in the industrial groups that provide work for so many of the residents of the Milwaukee area. The present situation may have changed from that existing in 1960; as yet there is no firm evidence that this is the case. In 1960 there was evidence that much needed to be done to assure Negroes adequate occupational representation in the Milwaukee area.

TABLES

4-1: Table 116, PC(1)51D, Wisconsin, Detailed Characteristics, 1960.

4-2: Ibid.

4-3: 1950: Table 77, Vol. II, Part 49, Wisconsin, 1950.
1960: Tables 74 and 78, PC(1)51C, Wisconsin, 1960.

4-4: Table 115, PC(1)51D, Wisconsin, Detailed Characteristics, 1960.
Table 115, PC(1)15D, Illinois, Detailed Characteristics, 1960.

4-5: Tables P-3, P-4, PHC(1)92, Census Tracts, Milwaukee, 1960.

4-6: 1950: Table 83, Vol. II, Part 49, Wisconsin, 1950.
1960: Table 129, PC(1)51D, Wisconsin, 1960.

4-7: Table 122, PC(1)51D, Wisconsin, 1960.
Table 122, PC(1)15D, Illinois, 1960.

4-8: Table 142, PC(1)51D, Wisconsin, 1960.

AN EMERGING MIDDLE CLASS

In many ways the Negro is the latest immigrant to urban America, and comparisons can be made between his experiences in becoming acclimated to urban society and those of his ethnic predecessors. As new arrivals, both the earlier immigrants and the Negroes experienced prejudice and discrimination that hampered their access to civil rights and to social, economic and educational opportunities.

The parallels between the experiences of earlier immigrant groups and the Negro often encourage the belief that the Negro's problems can be resolved by time, much as were many of the problems of the ethnic immigrants of yesteryear. The immigrant was forced to occupy substandard housing; so was the Negro. Partly through choice and partly from economic necessity both immigrant and Negro settled in ghettos when they came to the city. Immigrant and Negro were last hired, first fired. The prejudice that led to signs on factory gates, "No Irish need apply," was later directed against "Polacks," "Hunkies," and "Wops" at one time or another, and finally against the Negro. In succession, each immigrant group contributed more than its share of delinquents and needy poor to the community and caused alarm among the old Americans. Yesterday it was the Pole, German, Italian, or Irishman who had problems in becoming "Americanized." Today, Negroes have problems in becoming "urbanized." In each case, what we are really talking about is the problem that people have in learning to live in a new environment and the problem that their neighbors have in learning to accept them as fellow citizens with rights equal to their own.

Although the so-called urbanization of the Negro has much in common with the process of Americanization, it is complicated by color and long standing racial prejudice that form barriers to acceptance and the social mobility which could facilitate urbanization. But the analogy between the two experiences has some validity. Many of the goals of the Polish, Italian, German, and Irish immigrants are now the goals of the Negro; it could hardly be otherwise since all are integral parts of the same society. These shared goals can be partly summarized in terms of the Negro's move toward middle class status. It is important to recognize that substantial numbers of Negroes are achieving middle class status and radically changing the image of the Negro in American society. This has implications for the future, not only of the Negro community, but for the entire community in which they live.

INDICATORS OF SOCIAL CLASS

By using standard indices of middle class status, such as income, education, and occupation, and applying them to 1960 census data, it is possible to identify many of Milwaukee's Negroes, as at least as members of the middle class, and to arrive at an estimate of the size of the Negro middle class in the city. The social class range of the Negro community may not extend as far as that of the white community, and in many ways the two class systems are separate, but they do overlap. As shown in a recent study by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, the middle class is growing in size and importance among Chicago's Negroes and now comprises from 30 percent to 35 percent of the Negro families in that city, compared to 65 percent to 70 percent of the white families (1).

In order to clarify the social class position of Milwaukee's Negroes in relation to Negroes elsewhere, comparisons are made to Negroes in Chicago, the nearest large city with a substantial Negro population, and to the nonwhite urban population in the nation. Because nationally nine out of ten urban nonwhites are Negroes, the data about nonwhites is used to describe the Negro population.[1]

Any measurement of middle class status depends upon assumptions about what constitutes the middle class. The middle class is not merely some kind of average between an upper class and a lower class. It actually is less a status than a state of mind, or a complex of attitudes and values. In many ways it is independent of where one lives or how much one makes. Essentially, the middle class person can be self-identified with his class, whether or not he has all of the usual attributes of middle class status. Social class indicators like income and education are valuable tools for the sociologist studying the class structure of a community, but they remain indicators, not infallible determinants of social class status.

Indicators of social class status can be rigidly or flexibly defined. Those who restrict middle class status to professional and upper echelon white-collar positions probably adhere to an overly rigid interpretation of social class status. At the risk of being too flexible, and on the assumption that class membership is more a matter of attitudes and orientation toward values and behavior than a matter of material possessions, the following criteria of middle class status were used in this study of Milwaukee's Negro community:

1. Occupational Status. Some white-collar jobs like those of a physician, bank teller or teacher are obviously middle class; others like a laborer are just as obviously not middle class. Although not all white-collar jobs are middle class, most of them are associated with middle class orientation and status. Some blue-collar jobs can also be identified as middle class in orientation. Foremen and skilled workers, for example, tend to be identified less with the working or lower class in their

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[1] In 1960, 93 percent of all urban nonwhites were Negroes. U. S. SUMMARY, Final Report, PC(1)-1B, 1960 Census, Table 44.

aspirations than they are with the middle class, so they have been considered part of the middle class in this survey.

2. Education. Although a college education does not automatically confer middle class status, it exposes a person to values, goals and attitudes that characterize the middle class. For this reason persons who attended college were considered middle class.[2]

3. Income. The Chicago Commission on Human Relations used a yearly income of $6,000 as the base income for middle class status. This income level was adopted to enhance comparability with the Chicago study. As a result of applying these criteria to the Negro community, many Negroes were identified as middle class.

OCCUPATION

In 1960 the urban part of the United States had 70.6 percent of the employed men and 77.4 percent of the employed women in the nation. There were 64 percent of the urban white men and 63.9 percent of the white women, but only 26.7 percent of the urban nonwhite men and 21.4 percent of the nonwhite women who were in white-collar occupations.

Among Milwaukee's employed nonwhites in 1960, 20.6 percent of the men and 16.5 percent of the women were in white-collar occupations. This compares with the 56.1 percent of the white men and 60.4 percent of the employed white women who were in white-collar occupations. There was a slight increase in the percentage of nonwhite men in white-collar jobs between 1950 and 1960 and a more pronounced increase of nonwhite women in white-collar jobs. There also was a slight decrease in the percentage of white men in white-collar jobs. In both 1950 and 1960, proportionately more nonwhites were in white-collar jobs in Chicago than were in Milwaukee. Chicago also had more white persons in its employed work force in white-collar jobs than was the case in Milwaukee.

Table 5-1: Whites and Nonwhites in White-Collar Occupations, Chicago and MILWAUKEE, 1950 and 1960

	Chicago		MILWAUKEE	
	1950	1960	1950	1960
Nonwhites	26.0	29.0	11.9	19.2
Whites	64.0	67.2	61.0	57.7

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[2] The possession of a high school diploma also opens doors to jobs and consequent upward mobility that are denied to persons without a high school education. Hence, it is assumed that some high school graduates probably have a middle class orientation linked to jobs and income.

The Milwaukee area had 302,251 employed workers in 1960 and 55.6 percent of them were in white-collar occupations. Only 2.5 percent of these jobs were held by nonwhites, however, although 6.8 percent of the employed workers in the area were nonwhites. The relatively small number of nonwhites in such jobs in 1950 could not do as much to encourage the development of a widespread middle class orientation in the nonwhite community as white workers could in the white community. However, the fact that one out of five nonwhite workers in 1960 was white collar and their increase during the decade testifies to the emergence of a middle class group in the Negro community which can assist in the diffusion of goals and attitudes that will facilitate the urbanization of the Negro community.

EDUCATION

The percentage of urban adult whites and nonwhites attending college increased between 1950 and 1960, and the relative increase was greater for nonwhites. In 1960, 19.6 percent of the whites and 9.3 percent of the nonwhites had attended college. Another 26.8 percent of the whites and 16 percent of the nonwhites had completed four years of high school. In 1950, 16.6 percent of the whites and 6.6 percent of the nonwhites had attended college, while 24.5 percent of the whites and 11.2 percent of the nonwhites had completed high school.

The typical (median) white adult living in an urban area had completed 10.5 years in school in 1950, while the typical nonwhite had completed 7.8 years in school. By 1960, the typical urban white had attended school for 11.5 years and the nonwhite for 8.7 years. In Milwaukee and Chicago, the educational achievement of nonwhites exceeded that of nonwhites in urban places in general.

The, typical nonwhite adult (i.e., over 25) in Milwaukee had completed 9.1 years of school in 1960, while the median for all persons in the city was 10.4 years. In this adult group, 40.7 percent of the whites and 25.9 percent of the nonwhites had completed four years of high school, or gone beyond high school. Table 5-2 shows the percentage of whites and nonwhites in

Table 5-2: White and Nonwhite Adults Completing High School and Attending College, MILWAUKEE and Chicago, 1950 and 1960

	1950				1960			
	MILWAUKEE		Chicago		MILWAUKEE		Chicago	
	White	Nonwh.	White	Nonwh.	White	Nonwh.	White	Nonwh.
Four yrs. HS	22.8	10.8	22.7	15.6	26.5	17.6	21.7	18.0
College, 1-3 yrs.	6.7	2.9	13.8	8.8	8.1	5.6	14.9	10.8
College, 4 yrs.	5.4	1.6	6.3	3.0	6.1	2.7	6.5	3.5

Milwaukee and Chicago who completed high school and attended college in 1950 and 1960. The percentage of persons completing high school increased during the decade, but the increase was greater among nonwhites. In 1950, the proportion of Milwaukee's nonwhites completing high school was only half that of the whites; by 1960, two-thirds as many nonwhites as whites completed high school.

The smaller percentage of nonwhites with the educational cachet to enter the middle class is attributable to many things which add up to more limited access to middle class occupations and middle class status. However, the percentage of Milwaukee nonwhites with some college education almost doubled (from 4.5 percent to 8.3 percent) between 1950 and 1960, a much higher rate of increase than was found among the whites. The increase for Milwaukee's nonwhites also was higher than that in Chicago, although Chicago had considerably more nonwhites with some college in 1960 (14.3 percent versus 8.3 percent).

A college education may be a good indicator of middle class status, but many whites and nonwhites without one achieve white-collar status and middle class status. The professional and managerial occupational group alone, for example, had more white Milwaukeeans in them than had attended college. Hence it is safe to assume that the middle class in both races includes at least some high school graduates. This would increase the percentage of middle class Negroes beyond the 8.3 percent who had attended college just as it did in the case of whites.

INCOME

There were 55.3 percent of all urban white families receiving $6,000 or more in 1959, compared to 22.6 percent of all urban nonwhite families. Although the median income for all families in the nation was $5,660 in 1959, it was $6,166 for urban white families and $3,711 for urban nonwhite families. This means that the typical urban nonwhite family received 57.6 percent as much income as the typical white family.

The median income for all Milwaukee families increased 75 percent between 1949 and 1959, while the income for nonwhite families slightly more than doubled. Nonwhite families received 61.2 percent as much income as all families in 1949; by 1959 they were receiving 72.6 percent as much as all families in the city, thus narrowing the income gap to some extent. The median

Table 5-3: Median Annual Incomes, Nonwhite and All Families, MILWAUKEE, 1949, 1959.

	1949	1959	% Increase
Nonwhite Families	$2326	$4842	108.1
All Families	$3800	$6664	75.3

income of white families was slightly higher than for all families, reaching $6787 in 1960. Most of the disparity between white and nonwhite incomes can be traced to their different occupational patterns.

In 1950, 8.9 percent of Chicago's nonwhite families had incomes of at least $5000. Adjusted for the rise in the cost of living, a $5000 income in 1950 is approximately equivalent to one of $6000 in 1960, and 34.1 percent of Chicago's nonwhite families received such incomes or more in 1960. The pattern of income increase for Milwaukee's nonwhites closely resembled that in Chicago. In Milwaukee, 3.9 percent of the nonwhite families had incomes of $5000 or more in 1950, while 33.6 percent had incomes of more than $6000 in 1960. The differences between white and nonwhite families are obvious, but so is the expansion of the nonwhite middle income group. In 1949, virtually none of Milwaukee's nonwhite families and only about 3 percent of all its families had incomes of $10,000 or more. By 1959, 6.8 percent of the nonwhites and 21.4 percent of the white families in the area had incomes of $10,000 or more. Although there was a substantial increase in the percentage of upper income Negroes during the 1950's, they numbered less than a third as many as were found among the whites in 1960.

THE MIDDLE CLASS

On the assumption that income is a fair indicator of middle class status, and that the more educated tend to have higher incomes due to having better paying jobs, then probably between 20 percent and 25 percent of the nonwhite families in Milwaukee enjoy at least middle class status. The percentage of such families in Milwaukee is probably about the same as that for the urban Negro nationally. Nationally, however, fewer urban Negroes have a middle class income than in Chicago and Milwaukee, and income is an important component in middle class living. There are fewer middle class Negroes in Milwaukee than there are in Chicago, but the Negro community of Milwaukee is younger and more recently arrived than Chicago's. Although the larger number of home owners in Milwaukee reflects a different housing pattern than

Table 5-4: Nonwhites Meeting Criteria of Middle Class Status,
Urban U. S., MILWAUKEE, and Chicago, 1960

	Income $6000	Education H.S.	White Collar	Home Owners
Urban U. S.	22.6	25.3	24.5	31.4*
MILWAUKEE	33.6	25.9	19.2	24.2
Chicago	34.1	32.3	29.0	16.0

*Central Cities

Chicago's, and while not all home owners are middle class, home ownership can be a step toward middle class status. That is why it is included in this discussion of middle class attributes.

Although subjected to overt discrimination in many important areas of living, an increasing number of Milwaukee's Negroes are achieving middle class status. Like their ethnic immigrant predecessors, they began at the bottom of the economic ladder and even now find it hard to get a toehold in some jobs and some industries. For various reasons, too many Negroes have dropped out of school before they were equipped to compete effectively in the job market, but now larger numbers of them are finishing high school and going on to college. When barriers to equal employment opportunity are broken, nonwhites with more education will be able to take advantage of job openings requiring skills that come only through education. As they move into better jobs, advancement to middle class status will be facilitated.

Many people have the impression that Negroes are a "lumpen proletariat" and discussions of the Negro's situation tend to focus upon the incidence of Negro crime and delinquency, the large number of Negroes receiving public assistance and so forth. This is one side of the coin, and one that the community has to cope with. There is another side to the coin, however, and that is the growing Negro middle class. The members of this middle class own homes, are well educated, have good jobs and adequate incomes. The rate of growth of the Negro middle class has been slow because of restrictions imposed by the white community. As it grows, the middle class can serve as a model for the Negro community, providing goals and direction for the deprived, more recently arrived Negroes who must be integrated into the total community if they are to play an effective role in the life of the city.

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TABLES

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THE FUTURE GROWTH OF THE NEGRO POPULATION OF MILWAUKEE

The prophet in matters of population indulges in a risky business. Changes in technology, family structure, the age at marriage, and many other things affect the growth of population. In the 1940's, population experts were predicting that the nation's population would stabilize within a few generations. Obviously they could not foresee the consequences of an unexpected war and the postwar baby boom. Today some experts predict that people will be jostling one another for elbow room if present growth trends continue. In unpredictable ways people may upset this prediction just as they have upset innumerable others in the field of demography.

But if problems like these bedevil the demographer who deals with trends in the national population, any attempt to look into the future population prospects for a segment of the nation, and particularly for a city, is even more complex. On the national level the vagaries of population change in one local community are balanced by compensatory changes in other places, and the task of estimating national growth is eased considerably. The population of a city, however, is responsive to noncompensatory economic fluctuations and a host of other things that affect in- and out-migration. For example, these can cause changes in age distribution that are soon reflected in vital statistics and school enrollments. Trying to cope with such factors has led many to forego the population problems of the city and to concentrate on larger population units. Knowing what to expect in the way of population growth, however, is extremely important to city fathers and others interested in planning for schools, welfare, and other vital urban services. And because the Negro community plays an important role in the total community, an estimate of its growth potential is needed for social planning. Estimates in such cases must be understood to be highly tentative, based as they are upon a host of assumptions about birth and death rates, economic development, and so forth.

The past growth of the Negro population of Milwaukee has followed the ups and downs of the national economy and the mass movement of Negroes from the South. Now that Negroes constitute a substantial part of the city's population, however, their increase will depend more upon natural growth than upon in-migration. Vital statistics for the first years of the 1960's show that births exceeded in-migrants in contributing to the growth of the city's Negro community. The median age in the Negro community is several years less than in the white community and the Negro birthrate substantially exceeds that of whites. The net result can be a continued high rate of growth, at least until the known effects of urbanization inhibit the Negro birthrate in the same manner that they have influenced the white birthrate. When this will happen is unknown and so is the in-migration rate, so exactly how large the Negro community will be by 1970 is a matter of conjecture.

During the 1950's Milwaukee gained population through annexation, in-migration and natural growth and it lost population through out-migration and death. As shown in table 6-1, the 1950 area of the city lost population in the 1950's, and had this not been balanced by annexation, the city's population would have fallen. This experience of population decline paralleled that of many large cities whose whites fled to suburbia, and in Milwaukee the move to suburbia is a white phenomenon. The extent to which the future flight of whites will be counterbalanced by Negro in-migration depends upon a congeries of factors like the overall economic situation, industrial development in the metropolitan area, increased equality of opportunity and other things that can attract Negroes and other people to a vital community.

Table 6-1: Components of Population Change in MILWAUKEE, 1950-1960

	In 1950 Area	In Area Annexed 1950 to 1960	Total Area 1960
Births	154,874	20,874	175,748
Deaths	65,691	2,852	68,543
Natural Growth	+ 89,183	+ 18,022	+107,205
In-Migration	31,564	60,496	92,060
Out-Migration	-140,685	0	-140,685
NET MIGRATION	-109,121	+ 60,496	- 48,625
ANNEXED POPULATION	-	+ 45,352	+ 45,352
NET CHANGE	- 19,938	+123,870	+103,932
1950 Population	637,392	0	637,392
Net Change	- 19,938	+123,870	+103,932
1960 Population	617,454	123,870	741,324

Assuming no further physical expansion of the city, several estimates have placed the 1970 population at from 790,000 to 850,000 persons. Nonwhites would make up between 120,000 and 130,000 of the total, or about 16 percent of the city's population. This would be almost double their percentage in 1960. The present estimate for nonwhites is somewhat below the others, suggesting that a conservative figure would be a nonwhite population of about 100,000 by 1970, while a high figure would be about 119,000 Negroes.

The following discussion of the possible pattern of growth of the Negro community relies heavily upon vital statistics. Table 6-2 shows how the city's Negro population grew between 1940 and 1963. Since 1957 natural growth has equalled or surpassed in-migration. Because there is no way of counting in-migrants between census years, one must rely upon estimates of their numbers in noncensus years. The Health Department estimates of net migration, shown in table 6-2, indicate heavy migration beginning in 1949. This tapered off in 1953 and then rose again from 1954 through 1956. There was another drop in 1957 and 1958, an upsurge in 1959 and 1960, and a definite drop in 1961 and 1962. If this decline continues, projections based upon 1960 levels of in-migration may prove overly optimistic.

Table 6-2: Components of Negro Population, 1940-1963

Year	Population	Increase	Natural Growth	Net Migration	Births	Birthrate	Deaths	Death Rate
1940	8,821	59	53	6	163	18.5	110	12.5
1941	8,880	120	81	39	189	21.3	108	12.2
1942	9,000	30	40	-10	176	19.6	136	15.1
1943	9,030	970	90	880	214	23.7	124	13.7
1944	10,000	200	104	96	255	25.5	151	15.1
1945	10,200	340	137	203	271	26.6	134	13.1
1946	10,540	1,860	219	1,641	349	33.1	130	12.3
1947	12,400	2,100	352	1,748	505	40.7	153	12.3
1948	14,500	2,500	432	2,068	619	42.0	187	12.9
1949	17,000	4,772	557	4,215	761	44.8	204	12.0
1950	21,772	4,228	617	3,611	819	37.6	202	9.3
1951	26,000	4,000	802	3,198	1,044	40.2	242	9.3
1952	30,000	3,000	1,092	1,908	1,341	44.7	249	8.3
1953	33,000	3,200	1,283	1,917	1,569	47.5	286	8.7
1954	36,200	4,000	1,484	2,516	1,775	49.0	291	8.0
1955	40,200	5,000	1,619	3,381	1,935	48.1	316	7.9
1956	45,200	4,800	1,927	2,873	2,287	50.6	360	8.0
1957	50,000	4,000	2,053	1,947	2,438	48.8	385	7.7
1958	54,000	4,000	2,069	1,931	2,438	45.1	369	6.8
1959	58,000	4,458	2,212	2,246	2,607	44.9	395	6.8
1960	62,458	4,442	2,284	2,258	2,678	42.9	394	6.3
1961	67,000	4,000	2,370	1,630	2,814	42.0	444	6.6
1962	71,000	2,937	1,837	1,100	2,250	37.5	413	5.8
1963	73,937							

One determinant of the future growth of a population is its age distribution. A relatively young population with a large number of women in the childbearing years (15 to 44 years) can result in a greater number of future births than a population with many women beyond the age of child bearing. Negroes in Milwaukee have tended to be younger than the whites, and this difference between the races has increased during the past two decades. Although the proportion of Negro women of child-bearing age did not greatly exceed that of whites in 1960, the larger percentage of Negro girls under 15 years of age suggests that an increasing number of Negroes can be born, even if other factors remain constant.

Table 6-3: Age Distribution of MILWAUKEE Whites and Negroes, 1940, 1950, 1960

	White			Negro		
	1940	1950	1960	1940	1950	1960
-15 years	22.1	22.2	28.0	22.7	27.0	43.5
15-44 years	50.0	45.5	39.2	53.1	54.0	42.6
45-64 years	22.5	24.0	22.5	21.0	15.9	11.3
65 years	6.4	8.3	10.3	3.2	3.1	2.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The overall Negro death rate (6.3 per 1000) is lower than the white death rate (10.5), but examining only the overall death rate can be misleading. Milwaukee Negroes have a higher death rate than white contemporaries, especially during the first year of life, and this also holds true for young adults. The Negro does not move into a favored position until old age, and currently there are many more older whites than Negroes in their respective communities.

The age at which death occurs plays a role in the future growth of a population. Some of the difference between white and Negro death rates may be due to the fact that more recent Negro migrants may not take advantage of health resources, or they may bring more health problems with them due to prior neglect.

While fewer women are born than men (48.5 percent of all births), men are prone to die younger, with the result that generally there are more women in the older age groups. Although death rates have decreased in the past, this trend can be expected to slow down and stabilize in the future. In any event, the Negro death rate does little to hold back the growth of Negro population.

Table 6-4: Age Specific Death Rates, MILWAUKEE, By Sex, 1960

	White*		Negro	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Under 1 year	27.9	20.5	44.0	36.8
1-4 years	.8	.9	1.9	1.3
5-9	.5	.3	.7	.2
10-14	.3	.2	.0	.0
15-19	.6	.6	1.2	.5
20-24	1.4	.6	3.2	2.8
25-29	1.3	.5	.8	1.6
30-34	1.7	.8	3.9	1.8
35-39	2.3	1.4	4.5	2.9
40-44	3.8	2.2	4.2	8.8
45-49	6.7	3.7	11.1	9.9
50-54	13.3	5.9	19.5	5.5
55-59	18.9	8.4	21.4	10.2
60-64	28.2	14.5	27.8	29.1
65-69	45.6	25.7	55.5	38.4
70-74	69.1	43.6	63.0	44.9
75+	132.4	97.3	116.8	78.0

*includes nonwhites except Negroes.

Like the rest of the nation, Milwaukee has experienced a "baby boom" in the last two decades. Total fertility, the number of children born to the average woman passing through the child-bearing years, rose from 1.6 in 1940 to 3.8 in 1960.

Table 6-5: Age Specific Birthrates, All MILWAUKEE, 1940, 1950, 1960

	1940	1950	1960
15-19 years	17.8	32.3	78.0
20-24	112.7	137.0	256.0
25-29	141.3	153.8	223.5
30-34	91.8	76.4	126.1
35-39	45.7	34.9	63.4
40-44	12.7	8.0	14.9

The difference between the white and Negro birthrates is shown in table 6-6, which gives 1960 birthrates for various ages. The Negro woman generally began bearing children at a younger age, and a high birthrate continued throughout her child-bearing years.

Table 6-6: Age Specific Birthrates, MILWAUKEE, White, Nonwhite Mothers, 1960

	White	Nonwhite
15-19 years	64.9	229.6
20-24	247.1	344.6
25-29	223.9	220.8
30-34	124.7	147.3
35-39	61.2	87.1
40-44	13.9	29.0

Using this kind of information about birth and death rates and making certain assumptions about in-migration, it was possible to calculate the possible growth of the Negro community. A "high" and "low" rate of in-migration was established on an age specific basis. It was assumed that a "high" annual rate of in-migration would be 2000 persons a year. Taking the actual trend in the early 1960's into account, this was lower than the 1950-1960 average of 2403 persons per year. This high rate would add 20,000 persons to the Negro population during the 1960's. The "low" rate assumed that in-migration would level off slightly above the 1962 rate. The low rate would add 12,500 persons to the Negro community during the 1960's. Under present economic conditions even this "low" rate may be too high. Table 6-7 shows the 1965 and 1970 population based upon the assumption of a high birthrate and high in-migration. This would produce a nonwhite population of 119,291 in 1970. If a high birthrate was accompanied by low in-migration, the population would be 111,791. Table 6-8 shows what might happen if the birthrate decreased somewhat and was accompanied by low in-migration. Under these conditions, by 1970 the nonwhite population would be 100,414.

Whether the Negro population doubles to about 120,000 persons between 1960 and 1970, or whether it reaches only 100,000 persons, it is bound to be much larger than the Negro population in 1960, and probably will constitute at least 16 percent or 17 percent of the city's population. Like the Negro population of 1960, this will be a young population with educational, housing, and other needs that will be increasingly complicated by high-density residence patterns unless Negroes are able to move into the mainstream of community life.

Table 6-7: Projected Population, MILWAUKEE Nonwhites, 1965, 1970 (High Birthrate, High In-migration)

	Men		Women	
	1965	1970	1965	1970
-1 year	1822	2471	1715	2327
1-4 years	5917	7654	5702	7610
5-9	6215	7857	6245	8113
10-14	5018	6741	5172	7328
15-19	3589	5429	3803	6005
20-24	2846	4275	3229	4736
25-29	2974	3845	3487	4279
30-34	3163	3706	3594	4137
35-39	3123	3673	3329	4025
40-44	2527	3284	2585	3457
45-49	1970	2625	1841	2629
50-54	1493	2011	1404	2006
55-59	1127	1513	1115	1527
60-64	858	1121	895	1132
65-69	546	756	587	808
70-74	360	485	362	543
75+	383	529	411	654
TOTALS	43931	57975	45476	61316

Table 6-8: Projected Population, MILWAUKEE Nonwhites, 1965, 1970 (Lowering Birthrate, Low In-migration)

	Men		Women	
	1965	1970	1965	1970
-1 year	1392	1512	1311	1414
1-4 years	5325	5234	5124	5118
5-9	6130	6727	6008	6355
10-14	4955	6257	4994	6084
15-19	3497	5126	3653	5172
20-24	2679	3951	3036	4374
25-29	2455	3148	3215	3890
30-34	2774	3012	3331	3684
35-39	2780	3001	3011	3467
40-44	2382	2960	2373	3004
45-49	1845	2502	1740	2274
50-54	1405	1904	1339	1961
55-59	1081	1414	1047	1369
60-64	800	1034	745	997
65-69	538	702	495	686
70-74	345	453	3333	457
75+	375	527	438	644
TOTALS	40758	49464	42193	50950

TABLES

6-1: Milwaukee Health Department, Vital Statistics Division.

6-2: Ibid.

6-3: U. S. Census.

6-4: Milwaukee Health Department.

6-5: U. S. Census; Milwaukee Health Department (rate per 1000).

6-6: Women, U. S. Census;
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